

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

December, 1950

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Edited by

EDWARD GODFREY COX
Managing Editor

DUDLEY D. GRIFFITH

CURTIS C. D. VAIL

GEORGE W. UMPHREY

Direct Contributions and Business Correspondence to
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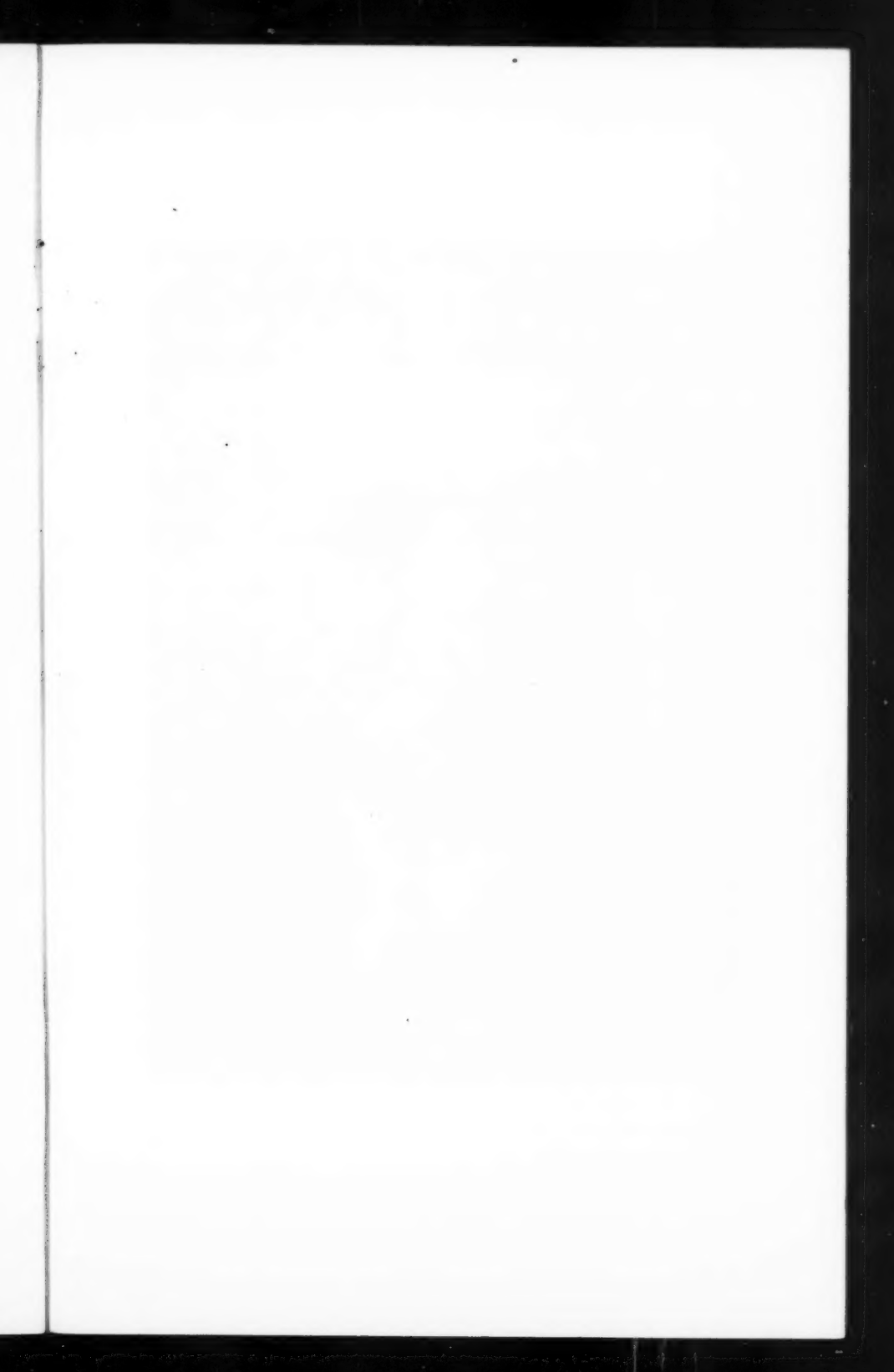
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GEORGE W. UMPHREY

1878-1950

It is with deep regret that we announce the death in August, 1950, of Dr. George W. Umphrey, a member of the Editorial Board of *MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY*.

Born in Ontario, Canada, in 1878, Dr. Umphrey received his B.A. degree at the University of Toronto in 1899 and his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees at Harvard University in 1901 and 1905 respectively. His career as a teacher began at Whitby College in 1901, followed by instructorships at the universities of Cincinnati and Tennessee. Coming to the University of Washington in 1911, he became professor of Spanish in 1922, a position he held until his retirement in 1949. Extensive travel in Italy, Spain, France, and Latin America gave him the opportunity to become thoroughly acquainted with the humanistic traditions of the Latin peoples, traditions which he was to interpret and defend during his many years of service.

His sound scholarship in the field of Latin-American literature—a field in which he was a pioneer—soon won for him an international reputation. Indicative of the many signal honors conferred upon him are the following: first vice-president of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish; Knight of the Royal Order of Isabel la Católica; Doctor *honoris causa* of the University of San Marcos, Lima; corresponding member of the Royal Spanish American Academy of Arts and Sciences of Cadiz; and member of the Bolivar Society of Quito.

Although he was known chiefly for his textbooks and investigations in Spanish and Latin-American literature, his translations into English of Spanish short stories and ballads are among the best to appear in this field.

Conscientious and untiring in his search for truth, Dr. Umphrey was a true scholar. Of penetrating mind and gentle disposition, he was far more than a philologist who followed the narrow path of his specialization. A poet in his own right, he was able to tread the ground where scientific facts and spiritual values meet. His life and work will stand as an example and challenge for his colleagues and for all others who were fortunate enough to have come into contact with him.

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STUDIA ISLANDICA

By R. GEORGE THOMAS

(Continued from September issue)

II

Since the year 1817 men have agreed that *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða* is the most historically reliable of the sagas: "*Hrafnkels saga* is generally acknowledged to be one of the best of the whole group in faithfulness to historical fact," says F. S. Cawley, and Andreas Heusler adds, it shows that "the saga style had for the most part already been formed when the quill was put to vellum." These are the twin poles around which Sigurður Nordal allows the current of his analysis of the saga to flow.⁴³ He asks and answers two questions: Have the saga incidents any foundation in historical fact? does it bear any traces of the hand of an author? These questions had been raised, and answered effectively, by the late E. V. Gordon's article in *Medium Ævum*,⁴⁴ but Nordal takes the case much further and places the whole question against the background of his knowledge of the development of the saga style.

The keystone to his answer to the first question is his attitude towards *Landnáma*:

There are solid grounds for the view that the main body of *Landnáma* was written early in the twelfth century, that the material was collected from the best sourcemen who were available, and that the author had taken good care to record what they told him with the greatest precision and accuracy. Of course, it may be objected that even at that time and with that method of approach it was not possible to leave a record absolutely truthful in every particular. Much had slipped away from the memories of men in the interval between the Age of Settlement and the Age of Writing, and means to fill the gaps were lacking. But this may be answered at once. Even though we grant that *Landnáma* is not as accurate as if it were a good contemporary source, yet we must place more trust in it than in those Family Sagas which were written at least 180 years later and which recorded their incidents not in a scholarly spirit but merely for entertainment.⁴⁵

Since the sons of Thjostar are the mainspring of the action, their ancestry is first investigated. *Landnáma* mentions their brother Thormod a few times, but gives no support for the saga statement that the family of the sons of Thjostar were all Westfirthers. "The entire kin and descent of Thormod are from the South, even his grandson Bork, although Bork had married a woman from the Westfirths."⁴⁶ It is

⁴³ *Hrafnkatla*, No. 7 in the series *Íslenzk Fræði* (Reykjavík, 1940), p. 4.

⁴⁴ "*Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*," *Medium Ævum*, VIII (February, 1939), 1-32.

⁴⁵ *Hrafnkatla*, pp. 7-8. Cf. Jón Jóhannesson, *Gerðir Landnámabókar* (R'vik, 1941), for a new examination of *Landnáma*.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

very doubtful whether Thormod married Thordis the daughter of Thorolf from Borg, as the saga says. There is no mention of Thorkel and Thorgeir outside *Hrafnkatla*. This is surprising since the saga presents them as powerful men. "The amazing thing about these Westfirth chieftains is that their memory has been preserved nowhere except in a saga from another part of the country."⁴⁷ Assuming their existence, Nordal asks: "Where did they maintain their power in Thorska-firth which, as *Landnáma* says, was settled by Hallstein the son of Thorolf Mostraskaggi?" After showing the flimsy nature of G. Vigfusson's explanation, based on the doubtful *Gull-Thóris saga* and *Eyrbyggja*, he concludes:

From whatever angle we regard the evidence it will be difficult to believe that the sons of Thjostar from Alftanes had obtained an establishment in Thorska-firth which later developed into authority over men and, even further, that that authority extended widely throughout the Westfirths. It is equally groundless to assert that they had been chieftains and Westfirthers by kin and upbringing. Since all that *Hrafnkatla* says of them is wrong, and in view of the grave-like silence of all other sources about them, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that probably they had never existed. At least, it is certain that they could never have been chieftains anywhere and that all that *Hrafnkatla* says about their power and achievement can only be sheer fiction.⁴⁸

Next, the ancestry of Hrafnkel godi is scrutinized. *Landnáma* mentions a Hrafnkel Hrafnsson who came to Iceland late in the period of settlement and later settled Hrafnkelsdal and lived at Steinþorstaðir, and includes a Hrafnkel godi among the most distinguished settlers in the Eastern Quarter and among the greatest chieftains in the land "at the time when the land had been inhabited 60 years."

According to *Hrafnkatla*, Hrafnkel is the son of Hallfred who came by ship to Iceland at Breiðdal and finally set up house at Hallfreðarstaðir in Tongue. According to *Landnáma*, Thord Thorolfsson halma settled Tongue-land. Thus Hallfred is not an independent settler. Yet his son settled land and later *Landnáma* includes him among the distinguished settlers and chieftains at the end of the Age of Settlement. No one can deny that this is an uncommon and incredible story.⁴⁹

Nor is it easy to believe that he could have grown to such prominence at Lokhill, after his humiliation at Aðalbol, since this was the district settled by Brynjolf the Old and his thirteen children.

Penniless and defeated, Hrafnkel had to settle down right in the middle of the original settlement of Brynjolf the Old and to become the ruler of all of it in a few years. This is the greatest absurdity. There is no more room for Hrafnkel in Fljótsdal than there was for the sons of Thjostar in Thorska-firth.⁵⁰

Still, *Droplaugarsona saga*—supported by its older and more reliable traditions—shows that descendants of Hrafnkel Hrafnsson had married into the family of Brynjolf and shared a godord.

⁴⁷ *Hrafnkatla*, p. 13.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

It is not inconceivable that some such information about these descendants of Hrafnkel the Elder had given the author of the saga the idea of showing that their authority over men in the lower part of the heath had existed from earlier times.⁵¹

The author of the saga had a great interest in place-names and their derivations and used them to support the arguments of those who have preferred the saga to *Landnáma* as a historical source.

It is most certainly true that the sagas have often preserved place-names not recorded elsewhere, but it must not be forgotten that place-names also owe their existence to sagas, sagas of fact, popular traditions, and romances, and that some place-names had been derived by misunderstanding what the sagas say. Such rough and ready deductions are well known. . . . Probably there are many more of these place-names derived from sagas, both in the old sagas and in *Landnáma*, than we suspect at the present time. Some examples of place-names which have been derived wrongly from sagas include Lögberg (Spöngina) in Thingvellir, Dritsker near Haugsnes, Gunnarshaug near Hlíðarendi. An example of place-names derived from popular tradition is Bárðarlaug in Snaefellsnes.⁵²

The name Arnthruðarstaðir apart, there is a rough similarity between the names in the first chapter of *Hrafnkatla* and *Landnáma*, but if we accept *Landnáma* and *Njála* in believing that Hrafnkel was the son of Hrafn, then, for instance, Hallfreðargata must be a far-fetched explanation by the author.

In a similar way we ought to approach those place-names which the saga derives from [the name of] Eyvind Bjarnarson. If the sons of Thjostar had never existed, if Hrafnkel had never been humiliated down in Fljótsdal, if these are fictions, then it is apparent that Eyvind and his slaying are also fictions. He bears marks of artifice. Not only, like Thorkel lepp, had he been out to Mickle-garth at a time when it is very doubtful that any Varangians had been there, but he also has a page after the manner of foreign chieftains.⁵³

The fell, river, and mound bearing his name are in every way suspect, and so Nordal turns to the Steinrøðarstaðir of *Landnáma* which is called, much more appropriately, Aðalbol in the saga.

Hrafnkelsdal, about 1,000 feet above sea level, with a very strong wind, was a difficult district to settle. "It is less likely, following the saga, that Hrafnkel settled the dale after he had been in Iceland some years than that he settled there in his first winter, as *Landnáma* says."⁵⁴ Since both Hrafnkel's grandsons had to seek establishments for themselves lower down the Heath, the dale must have been thickly populated towards the end of the tenth century. There were very bad seasons about 975 which might have affected the dale, and there had been hard times in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; for example,

⁵¹ *Hrafnkatla*, p. 20.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28. The whole of this history of the dale is packed with information and shows the extent to which Nordal has tested all sources to discover reasons—or lack of reasons—to support the historicity of the saga incidents (*ibid.*, pp. 26-31). But it is too long to quote here, and, unfortunately, the bare conclusions here stated seem to rest on flimsy foundations, although this is not the case.

the volcanic eruption at Trölladyngja in 1151. "If Hrafnkelsdal had already been reduced to waste when the saga was written, it would be understandable both that the author had never been across it and that he would have been emboldened to name places there after his own conjectures."⁵⁵ After dismissing as patently absurd the attempt of Vigfusson to establish the site Aðalbol,⁵⁶ Nordal states the alternatives:

Either there had been an Aðalbol, inhabited or desolate, in the thirteenth century as we have already suggested—and then perhaps on the site of Steirðarstaðir—in the same place as it now is, and the author had selected it for Hrafnkel's farm, or the author himself had given this name to the house of Hrafnkel instead of the correct form, Steirðarstaðir, which later took the name from the saga when the present farm was set up there late in the eighteenth century. But this must remain an open question unless other, as yet unknown, sources come to light.⁵⁷

Leaving this study of place-names, he asks: "What chance had they to remain unaltered and free from the influence of the saga during all those centuries when the dale was practically or completely uninhabited?"⁵⁸

Hrafnkel's title of Freysgodi is suspect. It is not given to him in either *Landnáma* or *Njála*. Besides Hrafnkel, only Thorgrim Thorsteinsson—named only once in the later version of *Gísla saga*—and Thord Össurarson, whose descendants were called "Freysgyðlingar," are so named. Of the three places definitely associated with Frey worship, Freyshólar and Freysnes in Lagarfljót, were near to the farms on which descendants of Hrafnkel had settled.

This may indicate that there had been Frey worship among the descendants of Hrafnkel, but the importance to be attached to this turns on the age of these names and the period when Hrafnkel's kinsmen had moved into this district. One thing is certain. If Frey worship had been observed in Hrafnkel's family right up to the acceptance of Christianity, then everything that is said in the saga about Hrafnkel having derived all his misfortunes from Freyfaxi and his refusal to sacrifice and believe in the god, etc., is all idle fantasy.⁵⁹

Nordal concludes this chapter on the historical truthfulness of the saga thus:

It will now be quite clear that very few incidents in *Hrafnkatla* received support from other sources, in fact, none but those where the saga and *Landnáma* agreed; that Hrafnkel had been a chieftain, had settled in Hrafnkelsdal and lived there and had two sons, Asbjorn and Thorir. There is a great deal which can, with reasonable support, be considered fictitious and among such are the main events in the saga. Some, like the title Freysgodi, may have some substance in fact, although this is doubtful. But what is the origin of the unhistorical subject matter? Is it due to the writer of the saga, an author (just as above, at times,

⁵⁵ *Hrafnkatla*, p. 28.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30, and the footnote to p. 29.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵⁸ *Idem.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

we have used this word in order to save trouble), or was it treasured in the memory of the people themselves in historical jingles which have been spoiled by oral tradition? The first trail to be followed in answering such questions is to consider what is known about the sources of the saga.⁶⁰

The genealogical tree of Harald Hairfair conforms to the tables in the beginning of Ari's *Islendingabók*, and although the borrowing from it is slight, Professor Nordal assumes that the author knew *Droplaugarsona saga*. The chief written source, then, appears to have been *Landnáma*.

One thing is obvious: that if the author had known his *Landnáma* thoroughly and had been particularly concerned about following ancient scholarship faithfully, then he must have seen that his saga conflicted with *Landnáma*, directly and indirectly. Viewed another way: if the author's prime concern was to compose a work of fiction, then he would take from *Landnáma* only those things which were necessary to initiate his story, and these he would alter to suit himself.⁶¹

It is much more probable that the author, who was not unlearned, had deliberately deviated from *Landnáma* than that, unknown to the author, the traditions about Hrafnkel had been corrupted in the East-firths after *Landnáma* was written.

There is little obvious evidence of foreign influences, since this is an unromantic saga, but there are indications of foreign color in the dress of those two intruders from Micklegarth, Thorkel lepp and Eyvind Bjarnarson. The *skósvæinn* is a unique servant in the Family Sagas, and the torture has an un-Icelandic flavor, although Professor Nordal draws a parallel with Saxo's account of Jarmericus punishing the Wends.⁶² But these written sources hardly explain whence the subject matter of *Hrafnkatla* has been derived.

When men have failed to corroborate material in the sagas which are not found in verses, they have generally taken it as proof of oral tradition. Indeed, examples of this are not plentiful and some are not well supported. But this is too big a question to be debated here. Is it then possible to conclude in this fashion: that if the subject matter of a saga can be based only on oral tradition, then it must be assumed that it is likely to be most unreliable? This need not necessarily be the case: popular lore is capable of being twisted to the same extent as fiction (cf. the *Fornaldarsögur*). Nevertheless it must be admitted that here we must completely mistrust the truthfulness of the saga-men of the East-firths and charge them with having invented the main incidents in *Hrafnkatla* which, we have seen, never took place. This view contradicts the widely accepted belief that, although the Norse and Icelandic sagas contain many lapses of memory and misrepresentation, embroidery and falsehood, there still remain some kernels of historical truth in the main incidents. Indeed it would be incautious to deny such a possibility in advance. Someone must have made what is so obviously artificial, so why not the man who told the saga for entertainment as much as the man who wrote it down? But even if this view is accepted blindly, the evidence is weighted heavily in favor of the saga-writer for two reasons. His treatment of the subject matter, wherever he obtained it, shows clearly that he

⁶⁰ *Hrafnkatla*, pp. 34-35.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁶² *Gesta Danorum*, Liber VIII. See O. Elton's translation (London, 1894), p. 335.

was a wise man. If he had undertaken to retell a narrative or tradition which he believed to be mainly true, his judgment would have been alert and he would have taken precautions against error; at least he would have had some faint idea that the story was told differently in *Landnáma*. The very lack of hesitation in the telling of the story suggests that he was not concerned with historical truth. Unless he was a very guileless man, he is more likely to have been an author who appropriated everything to his own purpose rather than a chronicler. Further, it is more likely that the influences of written sources, even though they are no more than the few we have indicated, stem from written sagas rather than from oral sourcemen who acted as intermediary links between the sources and the saga-writer. And in one place—the genealogies from *Íslendingabók*—this is quite certain.

Although it would be always difficult to draw a clear line of demarcation between the subject matter of the sagas which derives from oral tradition and that which consists of alterations, additions, and fictions of the author, we may frequently approximate to such a division by examining both the nature of the material and the author's treatment of it. An easily recognized feature of popular tales is this: they split up their narratives so that a scrupulous saga-writer sometimes finds that a certain incident is not recorded in its entirety, or else that he has blundered into recording the same story twice in two different forms. An example of this doubling is found in *Reykdoela saga*. Again, it is in the nature of popular oral tradition to attract to itself material from travelers' tales and folk beliefs, and this practice goes so far that the sagas become more concerned with these superstitions from oral tradition than they are with the realistic parts of the story. It is true, I think, that the author of *Eyrbyggja* had more popular material about the Fródár-hauntings and the ghost of Thorold Clubfoot than about the dealings between Snorri and Arnkel godi. Some things in the saga are of such a nature that it is incredible that any writer of fiction could have taken any pleasure in composing them, or that he could have assumed that any reader would have been amused by them. They never deal with the main story but hinder it and make it more difficult to follow the main thread of the narrative. Frequently authors are hard put to set them in their proper places in the narrative, and they display a strange irresolution in the treatment of such subjects. The scrupulous zeal of the scholar with his desire to save everything from oblivion has to struggle with the taste and endowment of the artist. Such sagas become heterogeneous, like *Bjarnar saga Híttaelakappa*, which goes to pieces in the middle where the talk about the district is plentiful, and digressions, inconsistent with the thread of the saga, are allowed by the scholar. Similarly, in *Gunnlaugs saga*, with its great quantity of fiction and fabrication, it appears at times as if the author has no control over his material, particularly some of the verses and the incidents which are brought forward to explain them.

If *Hrafnkælla* is viewed this way, it becomes clear that it does not fit into the family of popular traditions. It contains no references to false history and nothing of popular superstition, since neither the dream of Hallfred—out of *Landnáma*—nor the belief in destiny—which is found in all the older sagas—can be so designated. Those few touches in the saga which might show the interest of the scholar and at the same time are unnecessary for the main story, such as the genealogy at the beginning, the statements about Thormod Thjostarsson, and the legal explanations, are all of a kind which could scarcely be obtained from oral tradition. Some are clearly from books; some (many of the explanations of place-names) have long been seen to indicate the hand of an author. We should always remember that the voice of the scholar had such a great part in the historical writings that even the best authors of fictitious sagas took pleasure in

showing the quality of their own learning; for example, the genealogies and legal knowledge displayed in *Njála*.⁶³

More light will be thrown on this problem by examining the composition and method of narration.

Hrafnkatla bears the marks of a neatly constructed piece of fiction. It is the most unified and the most neatly constructed of all the Family Sagas—like a Jane Austin novel—surpassing even *Hoensa-Thóris saga* and *Bandamanna saga* and far superior to two other Eastfirþ sagas, *Vápnfirðinga saga* and *Droplaugarsona saga*, “both of which are older and are considered to be based on ancient oral tradition.”⁶⁴ The author is a master of the two-strand narrative in which two incidents are developed side by side; e.g., Einar, after the release of Freyfaxi, does not appear on the scene until Hrafnkel finds him on the wall of the sheep-fold, while Hrafnkel, after his arrival at the Thing, is not mentioned until men rushed to his booth after Sam’s prosecution. These incidents and the description of Hrafnkel’s new rise to power, even before we are told of the destruction of the temple, are quite unlike the method of narration employed in popular oral tradition. The sequence of the story is upset for dramatic effect, to gain our sympathies for this new Hrafnkel and to foreshadow Sam’s doom. Another evidence of great literary skill is the speed and all-inclusiveness of so short a narrative (one is reminded, however unwillingly, of *Macbeth*). “The saga never loses sight of its purpose, even though it seems to find ample scope for detailed descriptions of great and lesser events.”⁶⁵

This appearance of all-inclusiveness and fidelity to historical events is achieved by an economy of characters rare in the sagas. But it is balanced by a lavishness in recording and explaining place-names which suggests that,

not only did the author take great pleasure in old names, but he also liked to use them for his own purposes. He looks to them for material for his saga, invents characters and incidents based on them, and then points to them as confirmation for his story. This suggests that he wished implicit trust to be placed in his saga, as did all the authors of the old sagas and particularly of the earlier histories. And in this he has succeeded right up to the present day.⁶⁶

Similarly, there is room for extraneous legal explanations, long involved expositions of the way characters are thinking, an inordinate amount of conversation, and the accumulation of small descriptive details, such as, for example, Freyfaxi’s filthy appearance and the widespread use of round numbers, even to the “some twelve times” Freyfaxi rolled over.

⁶³ *Hrafnkatla*, pp. 38-41. Quoted in full because, although Nordal has analyzed the saga in great detail from many angles, this literary criticism shows him at his best.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

All these explanations, descriptions, and detailed attention to trifles and many others of the same kind, help to give the reader the comfortable feeling that there has been no rash interference with the subject matter and that the evidence for the events is not based on insecure foundations. Above everything else it is the conversations which give us the illusion of living the events, and we notice that they have been recorded most carefully, although they really contribute little to the main argument.⁶⁷

The style is generally pithy, with some vivid phrases and frequent use of proverbs. The author knows how to balance sentences as well as characters, and how to use the full title *Hrafnkel godi* to advantage by reserving its use for dramatic occasions and speeches. But it is well to remember Finnur Jónsson's remark that the style is often stilted, and that in this respect it is scarcely a good and well-composed saga.⁶⁸ Thus the outburst of the servingwoman, *Hrafnkel's* peace-offer to old Thorbjorn, and many other repetitive speeches would have been as effective if they had been shorter.

This is not to imply that in this respect the saga shows now and again a touch of the learned, ecclesiastical style, for this is not suggested by the choice of words. Perhaps we could note the use of *linr* in place of *mildur*, and *nóungi* for *fraendi*, but these are not enough to give any indication of the status of the author. My opinion of the style is that it shows a gifted author, one who had steeped himself in the art and spirit of the popular historical writers but who did not enjoy the dexterity in style of the great masters. The saga style developed gradually with its eye on two kinds of narration. The one was the primitive narrative style of oral tradition, the best examples of which are in the so-called *aettasögur* of the Norwegians and in the stories about individual Icelandic commoners, stories which are in every way uninfluenced by literary cultures. Their treatment of the subject matter is abrupt, often inept and correspondingly slight, and those which probably are fuller and modeled more after a literary style, just like a summary, pay little attention to the continuity of the narrative, although, of course, they have never been anything else. On the other side was the foreign clerical style, broad, complicated, and tortuous. The Icelanders succeeded, both by their knowledge of Latin and by translations into Icelandic after 1100, in forming their style from these two opposites and in uniting much of the simplicity of everyday speech with the copiousness of the literary language. In some of the earliest sagas it is apparent that the authors have not resolved these components successfully. In *Heiðarvíga saga*, for example, there is a great difference between the layout of various chapters. After the plans of Thorarin spak and the Southern journeys have been described in incredible detail comes the brief account describing how Bardi came North from the slaying. It is as though the author was exhausted after his greater exertion in the preceding description and now is glad to allow the chapter of oral traditional material to stand forth in all its nakedness. During the thirteenth century a greater balance was achieved. Snorri, who wrote his Kings Sagas in the manner of many older sources, composed in heterogeneous styles, left behind him a powerful example. He shortened and expanded at will, took over the vestments of the learned style from the Saints Sagas and altered them to simpler but more magnificent costumes and at the same time smartened up the fustian of poorer sources in harmony with them. In some ways this is quite clear to us, but it would have been

⁶⁷ *Hrafnkatla*, pp. 48-49.

⁶⁸ *Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1923), II, 516.

more evident if we still had some of the older sagas in their original forms and not shortened and mutilated by later writers (cf. the texts of *Egils saga* and *Glúms saga* in *Móðruvallabók*, and *Fóstbroðra saga* in *Hauksbók*), that the development of the saga style in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries continued in the direction of giving the sagas an "oral" quality. It is true, as far as we can judge, that the sagas were spoken, but it may well be that something like this had taught the writers of sagas to train themselves to speak their sagas. Thus, for example, Sturla Þórðarson had learned to repeat the saga of Huld, and similarly other authors had trained themselves to relate sagas or even chapters which they were composing at the time. But the saga style is equally remote from the primitive oral style which obtained before the Age of Writing and the daily speech of the thirteenth century which peeps through in *Sturlunga*. It is indeed the summit of literary art to make books "talk" and few attained it. However remote the ideal, it is nevertheless true that in the full flowering of the saga art sagas approximate more closely to a spoken narrative. . . . As a rule the fully developed saga style was employed in books of the thirteenth century. Here [in *Hrafnkatla*] it was composed in a district which was remote from the main centers of saga-writing and by a man who, as far as we can judge, has written nothing else that has come down to us. A case can be made for the statement that the saga was written in a style that was a little behind and not ahead of the times, and that it was written late in the century, and this agrees with other facts which may give indications of its date of composition.⁶⁹

It is not my purpose here to indicate Nordal's masterly analysis of the eight principal characters. His conclusion is based on Sir Walter Scott's statement that "were we to point out the most marked distinction between a real and a fictitious narrative, we would say that the former, in reference to the remote causes of the events it relates, is obscure, doubtful, and mysterious, whereas in the latter case, it is part of the author's duty to afford satisfactory details upon the causes of the separate events he has recorded, and, in a word, to account for everything."⁷⁰ On this showing, *Hrafnkatla* displays the fine economy of art in its character drawing, and "it would become clear, when everything has been examined, that it is one of the most completely developed short novels [*novellen*] in world literature."⁷¹

III

These rapid summaries do less than justice to the grace of Professor Nordal's style and the wealth of information from disparate sources which supports his arguments. His views on the chronology and authorship of the Family Sagas are not sudden, ill-conceived flourishes; they merit attention because they have been maturing and developing for over thirty years. He has read the sagas with a poet's vision, and his ideas, like a true poet's, are simple but penetrating; yet he has not flinched from the Herculean task of supporting and developing them with a scholar's thoroughness. Still his greatest

⁶⁹ *Hrafnkatla*, pp. 52-55.

⁷⁰ Sir Walter Scott, *The Abbot*, The Waverley Novels, XI (London, 1900), 5-6.

⁷¹ *Hrafnkatla*, p. 66.

service is that of an inspired critic: he has restored the sagas to their rightful place as imaginative literature, and, although some may regret the passing of the legend of the oral saga handing on for many generations historical truth, the gain for the modern reader is immense once he realizes that in the Family Sagas he is as closely in touch with the mind of a man like himself as when he is reading *Troilus and Criseyde* or *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. The medievalist may find here little that is familiar to his studies of Western Christendom, but it is evidence that cannot be ignored of the way men in the thirteenth century thought and acted when the influence of the Church, supported by the secular arm, was weak. My own unsubstantiated belief is that future research will show that Icelandic thought and culture at this time was greatly influenced by Western Christendom and that Ultima Thule was not the remote Teutonic Utopia which some nineteenth-century scholars wished her to be.

At least three principles, which should help future study of the Family Sagas, can be deduced from this summary: (1) An insistence on the continuity of the development of the literature of the Old Icelandic Republic, its rise and fall. There are three interwoven strands throughout, each affecting the other while it is undergoing its own development and decay: the purely factual, historical writing, the purely fantastic or fictional love of entertaining stories, and, somewhere between the two, the genre which we call the *Íslendinga sögur*—that combination of realism and romance of which the great five, *Egla*, *Eyrbyggja*, *Gretla*, *Njála*, and *Laxdoela*, are the supreme examples. Particularly significant is the suggestion that, after the middle of the thirteenth century, authors turned more to creative work, felt themselves less tied by historical fact than their predecessors had been, and that this was accompanied by an attempt to make the saga style "talk." This needs more confirmation from a study of Sturla Thórðarson's work,⁷² since his life, if not his achievement, bridges the two periods, if there are two distinct periods. Whether right or wrong, this suggestion, and the example of the editors of *Íslensk Fornrit*, should point the way to new investigations of the sources and historical basis of the sagas.

(2) A belief that the men who wrote the sagas were conscious artists, susceptible to influences from their predecessors, from abroad, and from each other. It is too much to hope that we shall ever be able to fit names to all these men, but we can recognize what kind of men they were and what tastes they had. Frequently it will be possible to say in what district they lived, what class they belonged to, and perhaps to understand more clearly than before why, apart from the sheer love of telling a good story, they wrote their sagas. A corollary to this should be a truer understanding of the nature of oral, as op-

⁷² See S. Nordal, *Sturla Thórðarson og Grettis saga*, *Íslensk Fræði*, No. 4 (R'vik, 1938).

posed to written, art, but no rash generalizations should precede a detailed investigation of each saga and its sources, real or imagined.

(3) To acknowledge the presence of an author is not to deny the absence of any oral tradition in the Family Sagas. This would be sheer lunacy, as ridiculous as that implicit faith which was once placed in the historicity of most sagas and which resulted in the refusal to see that place-names were often derived from the sagas, or to remember that every convenient pile of stones in that wind-swept country of landslides and volcanic eruptions did not conceal the bones of some saga-worthy hero of the Saga Age. Of necessity we must be prepared to see the actual historical figures of, say, Snorri godi, Gunnar of Hlíðarendi, Hrafnkel Freysgodi, or even the great Njal himself, recede from our grasp, but in exchange we may gain a closer understanding of those living men, the saga artists of the thirteenth century, who have so readily given us the best of their minds. This is salutary and should yield a new type of saga criticism which should do much to substantiate the frequently expressed claim that *Heimskringla* and *Njála* belong to world literature. We must be grateful to those scholars who prepared texts, investigated origins, dates, and sources, cross-checked references in other sagas, and in so many ways extended our knowledge of the provenance of the sagas as well as of the sagas themselves. But perhaps by their example and their tendency to seek for multiple authorship or to satisfy their own theories, our gaze has been diverted from the sagas which we have to the sagas as they might have been. It would seem utter folly to long and strive for a more perfect—because still earlier—text of *The Troublesome Raigne of King John* or *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the death of the good Duke of Humphrey*, while Shakespeare's own histories lie unread on our shelves. Perhaps a more relevant parallel is to be found in the kindred field of Old English studies. Like *Njála*, *Beowulf* has suffered at the hands of those who wished to give the poet as multiple a personality as Homer or Isaiah, and generations of students have toiled wearisomely through introductions, footnotes, and monographs in order to understand more clearly the man-made confusion such theories have produced. With what joy recent students have read Professor Tolkien's lecture on "Beowulf: The Monster and the Critics,"⁷³ where sympathetic concentration on the poem as well as the marginalia has produced a simpler and more poetical synthesis which they feel instinctively to be nearer the original poet's intentions.

The lesson is plain; but it does not mean that we are free to build haphazardly on the sagas as we now have them and to let our subjective fancies run wild in a riot of impressionistic criticism. There is much spadework to be done even after the labors of the editors of the *Íslensk Fornrit* are over. Fact has still to be sifted from fiction. For-

⁷³ *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXII (1936), 245-95.

eign students in particular must learn to distinguish more clearly between the native style of oral tradition and the vocabulary and sentence structure derived from medieval culture which followed the introduction of Christianity, the multiplication of the monasteries, and the translation of stock medieval works. The influence of the *Biskupa sögur* on certain sagas, indeed on the very texture of saga narrative, linked as it must be at some point with the exempla of eloquent friars and half-lay, half-clerical preachers, has yet to be determined, and *Sturlunga saga* needs careful study as a repository of what may be the normal methods of composition and conversation (as distinct from the literary or formal Family Saga style) of the latter half of the thirteenth century. And how broad a field needs to be re-tilled in order to estimate the effect of Anglo-Saxon learning on Scandinavian and Icelandic culture.

Just as in Snorri's day all roads seemed to lead to Reykholt, so for us all our studies of the Family Sagas lead back to the Sturlung Age, and it is with a sense of deeper gratitude that we must now appreciate the impulse that caused Sturla Thórðarson to continue the work of Ari and Snorri by writing in his old age his *Islendinga saga*. There we may hope to find the clues to the mysteries of the temper and the climate of opinion enjoyed by the writers of *Laxdoela* and *Njála*, even if their identities are never recaptured. This is a subject to be treated elsewhere, although much has already been written about the nature of that age and the factors which made it such a good age in which to write sagas.⁷⁴

Finally there is one warning. Nineteenth-century scholars have been attacked a great deal for their tendency to analyze when synthesis was needed. We must avoid another danger. We live in troublous times, and, just as the spaciousness of the nineteenth century encouraged scholars to analyze and dissect in the interests of an implied philosophy which seemed to look to a future of ever-increasing prosperity and betterment, so we in Western Europe have become conscious of a need to consolidate what we have, to make the ground under our feet more solid before we can face with confidence an uncertain future. In such a frame of mind we may search the past for confirmation of our present beliefs; but we must be careful not to make the thirteenth-century writers in Iceland feel and say what we would like to believe in 1950. In particular, we must not endow them with our horizons nor seek their aid in unraveling our speculations. They, too, lived in times of change and saw many causes fought and lost; they, too, seem to feel our need of consolidation against a seemingly dark future; they seem to have indulged in retrospect and to have sought in the Saga Age the inspiration which seems to

⁷⁴ Cf. E. Ó Sveinsson, *Sturlungaöld* (R'vik, 1940), and *Sagnaritun Oddaverja*, Íslenzk Fræði, No. 1 (R'vik, 1937); and Magnús Jónsson, *Guðmundar saga dýra*, Íslenzk Fræði, No. 8 (R'vik, 1940).

shine through their literature. This quality they seem to share with the poet of *Beowulf*—a quality which, curiously enough, has received due recognition only in our day. Thus the kinship of outlook should produce sympathy which, in its turn, should yield us a clearer understanding of their aims and failures; their achievement will certainly give us confidence and, if that is needed, new heart. To Icelanders of their type, Saxo Grammaticus paid this tribute at the end of the twelfth century: "They account it a delight to learn and to consign to remembrance the history of all nations, deeming it as great a glory to set forth the excellence of others as to display their own."⁷⁸ Such praise should be fitting reward for those who set out once more to understand the Family Sagas in the light of recent research.

Cardiff, Wales

NOTE: There are personal reasons why this essay was written. Chief among them is a sense of gratitude to all those Icelanders, but particularly to Professor Sigurður Nordal, who made my stay in their country from 1941-1942 as a member of an occupying force, a pleasant and a profitable instead of a bitter experience. All of those who have sat at the feet of Sigurður Nordal will readily recognize his great influence as a teacher—a fact which accounts for so much of the uniformity of outlook among present Icelandic scholars and editors. But because this influence radiates from Reykjavik, because it is expressed in modern Icelandic and attained its momentum during the recent war, it has not been sufficiently felt in English-speaking countries. Thus, although it may be objected that anyone who has read, say, Stefan Einarsson's reviews of the Íslenzk Fornrit editions (in *JEGP*, 1934-1941) or G. Turville-Petre's "Notes on the Intellectual History of the Icelanders" (in *History*, XXVII, No. 106 [September, 1942]) would have no need of such an article as this; yet even their excellence is no substitute for the fuller understanding, which has been attempted here, of the trend of Nordal's work since the publication of his *Snorri Sturluson*. It is the absence of a widespread knowledge of this latter work which is most to be regretted, a gap beyond the scope of this essay to fill.

⁷⁸ Quoted by Henry Goddard Leach, *A Pageant of Old Scandinavia* (New York, 1946), p. 4.

CHAUCEER'S PRIORESS: HER GREEN GAUDS

By BEVERLY BOYD*

Scholars have been interpreting the words "gauded al with grene" in Chaucer's description of the Prioress' pair of beads¹ to mean "having green beads for the *Pater nosters*."² They assume that the "small coral" beads were intended for *Ave Marias*. But in recent years ecclesiologists have found many indications that the rosary did not approximate its present form until the middle of the fifteenth century.³ The beads called "gauds" may not have been intended for *Pater nosters* in Chaucer's time.

The rosary consists of fifteen decades of *Ave Marias*, every decade being preceded by a *Pater noster* and followed by a *Gloria*. Each decade is dedicated to one of the fifteen events in the life of Christ and of the Virgin which are known as "mysteries":

Joyful Mysteries

The Annunciation
The Visitation
The Birth of Christ
The Presentation in the Temple
The Finding of Jesus in the Temple

Sorrowful Mysteries

The Agony
The Scourging
The Crowning with Thorns
The Carrying of the Cross
The Crucifixion

Glorious Mysteries

The Resurrection
The Ascension
The Descent of the Holy Ghost
The Assumption of the Virgin
The Coronation of the Virgin

* I should like to express my thanks to Professor Elliott V. K. Dobbie and to Professor Roger S. Loomis, of Columbia University, whose suggestions have been most helpful.

¹ General Prologue, line 159. All references to Chaucer's works are from F. N. Robinson, *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, 1933).

² Professor Robinson's note on this passage reads, "*peire of bedes*, a rosary. The 'gauds,' or large beads for the Paternosters, were of green." *Ibid.*, p. 756.

³ The most extensive treatment of the history of the rosary is the work of Herbert Thurston, S.J. See "Our Popular Devotions: II, the Rosary," in *The Month*, XCVI-XCVII (October, 1900-April, 1901); "The Name of the Rosary," *The Month*, CXIII (May, 1908); "Genuflexions and Aves, a Study in Rosary Origins," *The Month*, CXXVII (June, 1916); also *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1910), VII, 1117.

Father Thurston's articles were intended to disprove a tradition which ascribes the invention of the rosary to St. Dominic (1170-1221). His work has therefore

It is necessary to meditate upon the mysteries while reciting the rosary. This is usually done by fixing the thoughts upon a new mystery every time a new decade is begun. A string of one hundred and sixty-five beads divided into fifteen sets (each having ten small and one large bead) is used to assist the memory in the recitation of these prayers. A chaplet of five decades, exactly one-third of the full rosary, is commonly used by lay people.

In terms of this, the rosary as it is known today, Professor Skeat described the Prioress' pair of beads:

gauded al with grene, "having the *gawdies* green. Some were of silver gilt."—T. The *gawdies* or *gaudees* were the larger beads in the set. "One payre of beads of silver with riche *gaudeys*"; Monast. Anglicanum, viii. 1206; qu. by Rock, Church of our Fathers, iii. i. 403. "Unum par de *Iett* [jet] *gaudyett* with sylver"; Nottingham Records, iii. 188. "A peyre bodys of jeete [*get*], *gauded* with corall"; Bury Wills, p. 82, l. 16: the note says that every eleventh bead, or *gaudee*, stood for a Paternoster: the smaller beads, each for an Ave Maria. The common number was 55, for 50 Aves and 5 Paternosters. The full number was 165, for 150 Aves and 15 Paternosters, also called a Rosary or Our Lady's Psalter; see the poem on Our Lady's Psalter in Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, 1881, pp. 220-4. . . . *Gaudee* originally meant a prayer beginning with *Gaudete*, whence the name. . . .⁴

By way of illustration, Professor Skeat cited a poem from C. Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*.⁵ This poem tells how the Virgin appeared to a monk and taught him how to say the rosary. The *Pater noster* is not mentioned in the poem. Skeat added that *gaudee* originally meant a prayer beginning with "Gaudete." He did not identify this prayer. He explained neither how it was used in the rosary nor how it came to be replaced by the *Pater noster*.

J. M. Manly realized that Skeat's analysis was not adequate. He explained in 1926,

For many years I believed and taught statements about the rosary which I now find were entirely incorrect. A pair of beads, I taught, consisted properly of fifteen decades of small beads separated by larger ones called "gauds." But it appears that these large rosaries were a later development. In Chaucer's time the paternoster, or pair of beads, consisted usually of either ten or twelve beads. . . . The rosary of fifteen decades, called Our Lady's Psalter, seems to have been just coming into use in the beginning of the fifteenth century. The most interesting document on the subject known to me is Hoccleve's poem in the second volume of his *Minor Poems*, recently edited by Sir Israel Gollancz.⁶

received strong opposition from the Order of Preachers. See R. P. Dévas, O.P., "The Rosary Tradition Defined and Defended," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XLI (January, 1916); also A. M. Skelly, O.P., and Herbert Thurston, S.J., *St. Dominic and the Rosary, Being a Correspondence Carried on in the Pages of The Catholic Sentinel* (Portland, Oregon, 1915).

⁴ *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1900), V, 18.

⁵ See below, pp. 411-12.

⁶ *Some New Light on Chaucer* (New York, 1928), p. 218.

Two years later (1928) he added,

The modern rosary, known as *Our Lady's Psalter*, consists of fifteen decades, in allusion to the one hundred and fifty psalms of the Psalter. But this may not have been in use in Chaucer's time. One of Hoccleve's best poems (*Minor Poems*, II, 16 ff.) explains the origin of it and seems to imply that it was new.⁷

Both Manly and Professor Skeat came to the conclusion that prayer beads became *Our Lady's Psalter* or the rosary when they began to consist by custom of fifteen decades of beads. Professor Manly placed this development in the early fifteenth century. But history shows that the prayers of the rosary and the beads used to count them, far from being novel at that time as Professor Manly supposed, can be traced as far back as the twelfth century, if not beyond.

There were, however, some important changes in the form of the rosary, and at least two movements to propagate that devotion, during the fifteenth century.⁸ The historical record indicates that these changes were more basic than mere alteration of the customary length of prayer beads. In order to define the purpose of the gauds in the Prioress' pair of beads, we must determine, not the probable appearance of prayer beads in the late fourteenth century, but specifically what prayers these beads were intended to count. We must find out as nearly as possible how the rosary was commonly recited in Chaucer's time.

The solution to the problem of the Prioress' gauds begins with a statement made in 1925 by Sister M. Madeleva, who remarked that on the subject of the Prioress' beads

one might expand into a brief history of the origin and use of prayer beads. Let it suffice to say that since the thirteenth century such beads have been in common use among religious and lay persons alike. At that time they were called *Paternosters*, from the prayer most often said on them.⁹

Sister Madeleva said that in the thirteenth century prayer beads were called "*paternosters*" because the *Pater noster* was the prayer most

⁷ *Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer (New York, 1930), pp. 506-07.

⁸ The first movement was Carthusian in origin. It began in Lorraine about 1415. See below, note 34.

The second movement was begun by a Dominican friar, Alanus de Rupe (ca. 1424-1475), who preached in northern France and the Low Countries. Alanus de Rupe is believed to have started the pseudotradition that St. Dominic invented the rosary. See Thurston, "Our Popular Devotions: II, the Rosary," *The Month*, XCVI-XCVII (October, 1900-April, 1901).

The case of Henry Eggher, discussed by Father Thurston (*The Month*, CXVI, 521) is too uncertain to be considered authentic. A Carthusian chronicle of Cologne (quoted by Le Couteux, *Annales ordines Cartusiensis*, VII [1863], 3) tells how this Carthusian, who died in 1408 at the age of eighty, had a vision in which the Virgin taught him to repeat first a *Pater noster*, then ten *Aves*, and so on until he had completed fifteen *Pater noster*s and one hundred and fifty *Aves*. Eggher, the chronicle goes on to say, mentioned this vision, which Father Thurston dates ca. 1390, to an English prior. "Et exinde per totam quasi Angliam sic divulgatum fuit hoc psalterium, ut pene nullus civis foret ibidem qui non haberet illud, nec cibum gustaret nisi illo recitato." No confirmation of this story has been found.

⁹ *Chaucer's Nuns and Other Essays* (New York, 1928), p. 17.

often said on them. If this was indeed the case, can we assume that a century later the beads were used to count "Hail Marys," interrupted by only a few *Pater noster*s? We must look to history for an answer to this question, for it is the key to the problem of the Prioress' gauds.

The rosary is ultimately a method of fulfilling an ancient obligation to recite the psalms every day. This obligation, which still obtains as the Roman Breviary, is known as the Divine Office (*L. officium* "duty"). The Divine Office is said at the canonical hours. The emphasis placed upon the canonical hours by religious orders created a problem. Many lay brothers were illiterate, and could not be expected to learn the Office. This difficulty was adjusted by requiring lay brothers to say a given number of *Pater noster*s while the others were saying their Office. The *Ancren Riwe* contains such a commutation:

Our lay-brethren say thus their hours:—For Nocturns, on work days, eight-and-twenty Paternosters; on holidays, forty; for vespers, fifteen; for every other time, seven. . . .¹⁰

A similar practice was observed by the Hospitallers. Those who were not priests said daily one hundred and fifty *Pater noster*s in place of the Divine Office. Multiples of fifty were especially favored because the Psalter, which forms the basis of the Office, was frequently broken into three groups of fifty psalms.¹¹ This exercise was known as the "Psalter of Our Lord."

By the end of the twelfth century, the prayer known as the Angelic Salutation, or the *Ave Maria*, had become standard in Christian worship.¹² Brief and easily learned, it was assigned to be recited in place of the Divine Office in the same manner as the *Pater noster*, usually one *Ave* for each of the one hundred and fifty psalms. The repetition of one hundred and fifty *Aves* is "Our Lady's Psalter," or "the rosary."

Some sort of counting device is helpful when it is necessary to repeat a prayer many times. Knotted cords, shells, berries, and the like were early used for this purpose. It is not known precisely when

¹⁰ James Morton, ed., *The Nun's Rule* (London, 1905), p. 20. According to R. S. Loomis, the *Ancren Riwe* belongs to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

¹¹ The custom of dividing the Psalter into three groups of fifty psalms seems to have been originally Irish. It probably resulted from the custom of memorizing the Psalter and reciting it from memory several times a day. Dividing the Psalter into three equal parts would render this somewhat easier. The Psalter was often called "the three fifties."

¹² It is not certain precisely when the Angelic Salutation was first used as a regular form of prayer. It was certainly familiar by the end of the twelfth century. Father Thurston quotes synodal decrees from the year 1196, enjoining the clergy to see that their people are familiar with the *Ave Maria* as well as with the *Pater noster* and the *Credo* (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, 1117).

The closing petition was not added to the *Ave Maria* until the sixteenth century. The present form is therefore much longer than the medieval form.

beads were first used in the West to count prayers.¹³ The earliest known example of Christian prayer beads belonged to Godiva, Countess of Coventry. William of Malmesbury tells how she willed (ca. 1040) to a statue of the Virgin in a certain monastery "... circulum gemmarum, quem filo insuerat, ut singularum contactu singulas orationis incipiens numerum non praetermitteret. . . ."¹⁴ This crude but costly chaplet was important enough to be recorded in a chronicle because it was part of a very large bequest. By the thirteenth century, prayer beads had become commonplace, among religious and lay people alike. Because they were originally used to count *Pater noster*s, they were called "paternoster beads," or simply "paternosters."

It will be observed that the origin of Our Lady's Psalter was quite independent of prayer beads. Herbert Thurston, S.J., the leading authority on the archeology and history of the rosary, was of the opinion that the medieval paternoster was simply a practical counting device for *Paters*, *Aves*, or both. "The beads," he wrote, "were just counters and no more."¹⁵ Examples of prayer beads from Chaucer's own time tend to support this view. St. Catherine of Siena (1347-1380) had a paternoster upon which she directed that one hundred *Paters* and *Aves* must be said. To cite another example from Chaucer's time, there is extant a letter which a Dominican cardinal wrote to the general of his order, discussing one Marcolino di Forli, who had died the previous year. In that letter occurs the following passage:

When he [Marcolino di Forli] was quite broken down with age and infirmity he had a lad to wait upon him in his cell, from whom he could not hide the devotions which he practiced. The boy observed that he used continually to pray before a statue of our Lady with the Divine Child in his cell, saying 100 Our Fathers and the same number of Hail Marys, holding in his hands, priest of God though he was, a paternoster of 100 (beads), just as if he were a lay brother.¹⁶

¹³ Dr. Rock misconstrued an early use of prayer beads, or some such counting device, from the word *beltidum*, which occurs in the acts of the Council of Celchyth (816): "Et postea unusquisque antistes et abbas DC. psalterios, et CXX. missas celebrare faciat, et tres homines liberet, æt eorum cuilibet tres solidos distribuat, et singuli servorum Dei diem jejurent, et xxx. diebus canonicis horis expleto synaxeos æt VII. beltidum, Pater noster pro eo cantetur. . . ." Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 1871), III, 584.

Rock explained: "This belt of 'Pater Nosters' spoken of by one of our Anglo-Saxon councils . . . as a thing then in common use, is the earliest notice, at least in western Christendom, of that pious custom of employing a string of some kind or another, the knots, notches, or knobs upon which might serve to tell, as the fingers went on holding one of them the while a certain prayer was said, exactly when the due number of such supplications had been gone over. . . ." *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

Haddan and Stubbs have more accurate information: "This word *beltidum* is explained by Spelman as meaning a *rosary*; but Du Cange remarks that the rosary is of much later invention. . . . It seems more natural to derive the word from *Bel* (A.S.) and *Tid* (A.S.) time; and to explain it in reference to the seven canonical hours at which time the prayer-bell rang." *Op. cit.*, p. 585.

Bosworth and Toller (*An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* [Oxford, 1898], supplement, p. 77) agree with this interpretation of the word *beltidum*.

¹⁴ *De gestis pontificum Anglorum*, lib. IV, in *Rerum Anglicanum Scriptores* (Frankfurt, 1861), p. 289.

¹⁵ *The Month*, CXXVII (June, 1916), 559.

¹⁶ Quoted by Thurston, *The Month*, XCVII (February, 1901), 175.

Our Lady's Psalter seems to have become a favorite devotion almost spontaneously. A large body of legendary material bears witness to its popularity in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The great collections of miracles of the Virgin contain many stories about it, such as the legend of Eulalia,¹⁷ the story of the Neglected Wife,¹⁸ and that of the Clerk of Chartres.¹⁹ Particularly important to the problem under consideration is a group of legends in which the *Aves* of Our Lady's Psalter turn into roses, which the Virgin takes from the lips of her suppliants and weaves into a garland. Though the many versions of this legend differ in detail, the following account may be regarded as typical.

A widow used to pray to the Virgin, while her only son laid garlands on the altar. When the mother died, the young man entered a monastery. After he had become a monk, he began to recite a "Hail Mary" for every flower which he had once been accustomed to place in Our Lady's garland. One day, the young monk was sent out on monastery business with a large sum of money. Two thieves, who were lying in wait for him in a forest, saw him kneel and begin to recite Our Lady's Psalter. Suddenly, a glorious maiden appeared. Unseen by the kneeling monk, she plucked a rose from his lips each time he said an *Ave Maria*, and wove it into a garland. As for the thieves, they were converted at once. They fell at the monk's feet in repentance.²⁰

For many years, Daniel Rock, Father Thurston, and other ecclesiologists have been of the opinion that the wide diffusion of this legend led to the adoption of the names *rosarium*, *corona*, *Rosenkranz*, *rosaire*, *chaplet*, and *rosary*, as familiar designations for Our Lady's Psalter.²¹ Furthermore, by examining versions of the legend from different periods, we are able to form certain conclusions about the

¹⁷ Gautier de Coincy, *Les Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, ed. A. Poquet (Paris, 1857), pp. 481-84.

¹⁸ MS Arundel 346, fol. 71v, quoted by Thurston, *The Month*, XCVI (October, 1900), 413.

¹⁹ De Coincy, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-300.

²⁰ Adapted from *The Month*, CXII (June, 1908), 613.

²¹ It has been suggested that the word *rosary* was first used in its present sense in the thirteenth century by Thomas Chantimpré. The Bollandists are skeptical about this: "*Primum ea vox nobis occurrit apud Thomam Cantipratenum, qui post medium seculi XIII floruit, lib. 2 de Apibus cap. 19, ubi numero octavo praefigitur hic titulus: De juvene quotidie tria Rosaria recitante, qui revixit, et poenitentiam egit. In ipsa autem narratione istius miraculi non exprimit vocem Rosarii; sed utitur triplici quinquagena in salutatione versus Angelici Ave Maria, et similem phrasim numero sexto ejusdem capitis adhibet occasione alterius juvenis, qui quotidie Deiparam tribus quinquagenis salutationum angelicarum honorabat. Unde Choquetius in Visceribus Deiparae jam aliquoties citatis cap. 23 pag. 467 dubitat, an Cantipratanus scripserit ipsam Rosarii vocem, nequidem forte usutatam. Suspiciamus siquidem, inquit, titulos articulorum, seu numeris praefixos, a Cantipratano ipse editos non esse.*" *Acta Sanctorum*, new edition (Paris and Rome; V. Palme, 1867), I, 422.

According to H. C. Lea (*History of Confession and Indulgences* [Philadelphia, 1896], p. 484), the earliest authentic instance of the word *rosary* in its

manner in which Our Lady's Psalter was recited at a given time. Versions range from the twelfth century to the fifteenth. In no version that has come to the attention of those who have written about the history of the rosary are the *Aves* of Our Lady's Psalter divided into decades by *Pater noster*s. This point is particularly interesting because the Virgin appears in many other legends giving instructions about the recitation of her Psalter. Besides specifying how many *Aves* she desires, she mentions anthems and meditations, but she says nothing at all about *Pater noster*s.

With all due allowance for the possibility of documents not known to us,²² the earliest piece of literature in which Our Lady's Psalter is broken into decades by *Pater noster*s is found among the minor poems of Thomas Hoccleve (ca. 1367-ca. 1450) in the Ashburnham MS. According to this poem, there was once a man who was greatly devoted to Christ's mother. This man had a son,

Vn-to which he yaf informacion,
Euery day to haue in custume and wone
For to seye, at his excitacion,
The angelike salutacion
.L. sythes / in worsshyp and honour
Of goddes modir / of vertu the flour.²³

The youth went off to a monastery and became a monk. One day, according to his custom, he went into the chapel to say his fifty *Ave Marias*.

And whan þat he had endid his preyeere,
Our lady, clothid in a garnement
Sleuelees, byfore him he sy appeere:
where-of the monk took good ausament,
Merueillynge him / what þat this mighte han ment;
And seide "o. goode lady, by your leeu,
What garnament is this / and hath no sleeue?"

And she answerde / & seide / "this clothyng
Thow hast me youen / for thow euery day,
.L. sythe Aue Maria seyyng,
honored hast me / hens foorth / I the pray,
Vse to treble þat / by any way,
And to euery .X^{the}. Aue / ioyne also
A pater noster / do thow eueue so.²⁴

present sense may be found in a bull of Sixtus IV (1478), which states that there is a confraternity "styling itself of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin, the members of which, thrice a week, repeat fifteen Paters and a hundred and fifty Aves, which they call a rosary. . . ."

²² For a full discussion of documents of questionable authenticity relating to the history of the rosary, see Thurston, *The Month*, XCVII (February, 1901), 188.

²³ Hoccleve's Works: II, *The Minor Poems in the Ashburnham MS.*, ed. Sir Israel Gollancz, E.E.T.S., Extra Series LXXIII (London, 1925), 16-17.

²⁴ *Idem*.

For the rest of his life, he recited one hundred and fifty *Aves* every day, joining to each ten a *Pater noster*.

This is the poem to which Professor Manly referred in two discussions of the Prioress' gauds. It will be remembered that he said of Our Lady's Psalter, "One of Hoccleve's best poems . . . explains the origin of it and seems to imply that it was new."²⁵ He also said, "The rosary of fifteen decades, called Our Lady's Psalter, seems to have been just coming into use in the beginning of the fifteenth century."²⁶ We have already seen that Our Lady's Psalter was far from new when Hoccleve wrote. Professor Manly, it would seem, failed to compare this poem with the poem in Horstmann's collection cited by Skeat.²⁷ This thirteenth-century English poem²⁸ is entitled in French "*Coment le sauter noustre dame fu primes cuntrouë*." It tells how a monk was accustomed to recite each day one hundred *Aves*. As he was finishing his devotions one day, the Virgin appeared to him, wearing a garment that consisted of nothing but sleeves. When he had overcome his astonishment, the monk ventured to ask Our Lady why she appeared to him improperly clad. She replied that his faithful recitation of her Psalter had woven the garment which she was wearing. But since he had been saying only one hundred *Aves* instead of the full number, her garment was likewise unfinished. The Virgin explained how her garment could be completed:

Ac þou most more say
Wor me now euche day
Fifti al bi score
Of aue maries,
Wite nou were-fore:

Þat is riȝt mi sauter. . . .²⁹

Fifti seye bi-fore,
Ten euere bi score,
And on anteme þerto,

²⁵ See above, p. 406.

²⁶ *Idem*.

²⁷ See above, p. 405.

²⁸ *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge (Heilbronn, Henniger, 1881), 220-24. Horstmann has edited this poem from MS Digby 86, fol. 130. "Dasselbe Gedicht findet sich in dem bekannten, etwas jüngern, Ms. Auchinl. fol. 259 [ca. 1410] und ist hieraus edirt in David Laing's A Penniworth of Witte (für den Abbot's Club)." On page 226, he dates the poem: "Ms. Auchinl., aus dem Anfang des 14. Jahrnds., enthält fol. Legenden: . . . 8) die Entstehung des Psalters Maria (auch in Ms. Digby 86)."

J. E. Wells (*Manual of Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400* [New Haven, 1916], p. 168) places both MSS earlier: MS Digby 86, 1272-1283, and MS Auchinleck, 1330-1340. I have used the earlier dating.

²⁹ Horstmann, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

In tokning of þe blisse
 Pat fel me midi-wisse
 Po þe aungele to me com
 And seyde to me tidinge
 Pat of me sholde springe
 He þat is god and mon.

After sey wel sone
 Fifti mididone
 Al for þat ilke blisse
 Pat he wiþ-uten sore
 Wolde of me ben bore-
 Pat þou þer-of ne misse!

Fifti at þen ende,
 For I sholde wende
 To me sone þo,
 For blis, and for to amende;
 Pat he to me gan sende
 To me comen and go. . . .³⁰

The monk was requested to recite every day three groups of fifty *Ave Marias*: the first fifty in honor of the Annunciation, the second fifty in honor of the Birth of Christ, the third fifty in honor of the Assumption. To each group of fifty *Aves*, or perhaps to each ten *Aves* (the text is a little ambiguous), the monk was instructed to add, not a *Pater noster*, but an anthem.³¹ He followed Our Lady's instructions very carefully, and exactly one week later,

Oure leuedi, foul of miȝtte,
 To þat moneke com,
 .I.-cloþed swiþe briȝtte,
 And þonkede þat mon.³²

This and other specimens of pre-fifteenth-century rosary lore tell at least something about the way in which Our Lady's Psalter was recited in the Middle Ages. There is every reason to suppose that if it had been customary to recite Our Lady's Psalter in decades separated by *Pater noster*s, Our Lady's Psalter would appear thus in literature. Since no evidence has been found to show that it was customary in Chaucer's time to interrupt the decades of Our Lady's Psalter by *Pater noster*s, there is no reason to assume that the gauds in medieval prayer beads were large beads for *Pater noster*s. Two other possible explanations of the purpose of the beads called "gauds" seem more consistent with the history of Our Lady's Psalter.

Herbert Thurston, S.J., thought that the gauds were simply markers to make counting more easy. The markers were often decorated in some way. If the beads were wood, they might be carved. If the

³⁰ Horstmann, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

³¹ The anthem is not named. This may refer to the anthem of the season. See below, note 37.

³² Horstmann, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

beads were jet or coral, they might be made of some contrasting material such as jade, gold, or silver. For this reason, they were called "gauds," from the Latin *gaudio* "rejoice," whence the obsolete substantive meaning plaything, toy, or showy ornament—a meaning, by the way, which survives in the adjective "gaudy." If we accept Father Thurston's opinion, we may explain the gauds in medieval prayer beads as ornamented markers to facilitate counting.

For a second possible explanation, we turn to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, where we read,

... it seems likely that the L. *gaudia* is really the source, and that the "gauds" were so called as serving to mark the fifteen mysteries (the first five of which are "joyful mysteries") to be meditated upon in reciting the fifteen decades of *aves*.³³

We have already seen that each decade of *Ave Marias* is dedicated to one of the fifteen mysteries. The thoughts must be directed towards one of them upon reaching the bead which separates the decades. If the custom of meditating while reciting Our Lady's Psalter preceded the custom of reciting a *Pater noster* upon this bead, the rosary meditations could indeed be responsible for the name "gauds," which would in that case be derived from *gaudia* "joys," as the *Oxford English Dictionary* suggests. Our problem now is to determine as far as possible whether the rosary meditations preceded the custom of using *Pater noster*s to divide the decades of *Aves*.

Father Thurston and other authorities are convinced that the practice of meditating upon the mysteries while reciting Our Lady's Psalter was not introduced until the fifteenth century. These authorities attribute the invention of the rosary meditations to a Carthusian monk named Dominic (not to be confused with the founder of the Order of Preachers), who composed a set of fifty *clausulae* (phrases or short sentences) to be appended to the last word of the *Ave Maria*. These *clausulae* cover the entire life of Christ. Father Thurston quotes five of them:

[The First] Hail, Mary, &, blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus Christ, Whom at the angel's word thou didst conceive of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

The Fifth: —Jesus Christ, Whom thou didst wrap in swaddling-clothes and lay in a manger. Amen.

The Eighteenth: —Jesus Christ, Whose feet Mary Magdalen washed with her tears, wiped with her hair, kissed and anointed. Amen.

The Thirty-Second: —Jesus Christ, Who prayed for His executioners, saying: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Amen.

The Forty-Eighth: —Jesus Christ, Who at last assumed thee, His Blessed Mother, to Himself, placed thee at His right hand, and gloriously crowned thee. Amen.³⁴

³³ IV (1933), 78.

³⁴ *The Month*, XCVII, 518. Dominic the Carthusian, also known as Dominic of Prussia, was born in Poland. He belonged to the Carthusian charterhouse of Trèves (Trier). This Carthusian did not claim the *clausulae* as his own invention, but as obtained by his prior in a vision. His method of reciting Our Lady's

There are no *Pater nosters* in Father Dominic's scheme.

Father Thurston was convinced that Dominic the Carthusian was responsible for the rosary meditations. Nevertheless, he placed before the reader several documents which he was unable to explain. These documents may indicate that the rosary meditations were known in some rudimentary form before the time of Father Dominic (1382-1461). Among them is our thirteenth-century English poem "Coment le sauter noustre dame fu primes cuntroué." Father Thurston dismissed this poem because he felt that it contained no direct suggestion of meditation. He pointed out that the Annunciation and the Birth of Christ are indeed joyful mysteries, but the Assumption is one of the glorious mysteries. When in the same poem the Virgin instructed,

Fifti [*Aves*] seye bi-fore,
Ten euere bi score,
And on anteme þerto . . .³⁸

Father Thurston was at a loss. Nevertheless, he ventured a logical solution:

If the practice of meditating could be proved for the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, one could conjecture *gauds* from the word *gaude*, the first word in a series of anthems in which our Lady's five joys were saluted, and which might have been used to mark the end of the five decades. . . .³⁹

Thurston was not the only scholar to suggest that "gauds" may be derived from *gaude*, the first word in a series of anthems in honor of the joyful mysteries. But like Professor Skeat, who traced the word to an unidentified prayer beginning "Gaudete," Father Thurston made no attempt to identify the anthems. He did not know that the joyful mysteries had a medieval antecedent known as the "five joys of the Virgin," which are not the same as the "joyful mysteries":

Joyful Mysteries

The Annunciation
The Visitation
The Birth of Christ
The Presentation
The Finding of Jesus

Psalter seems to have been regarded by his contemporaries as an innovation. It spread widely in the early fifteenth century under the patronage of Margaret of Bavaria, consort of Charles II, Duke of Lorraine. The Carthusians had the *clausulae* translated into German for her use.

The fate of Margaret's German *clausulae* is interesting. In 1460, a small rosary book was printed at Nuremberg and Spire. The book, entitled *Unser lyeben frowen Rosenkrantz und wie er von ersten ist offkummen*, contains fifty *clausulae*, which correspond accurately to those of Father Dominic, even to the absence of *Pater nosters*. The book also contains the story of the monk and the rose garland. Father Thurston believes that the rosary book of Nuremberg and Spire had much to do with determining the present form of the rosary meditations.

³⁸ Horstmann, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

³⁹ *The Month*, XCVI, 418.

The Five Joys

The Annunciation and Incarnation
 The Birth of Christ
 The Resurrection
 The Assumption
 The Coronation of the Virgin

The five joys must be carefully distinguished from the joyful mysteries. The names should not be interchanged. The events mentioned in the poem "Coment le sauter noustre dame fu primes cuntroue" are three of the five joys. The suggestion of meditation could not be more clear.

The five joys of the Virgin were very popular in the Middle Ages as a subject of art, poetry, and prayer. Five candles were kept in the churches, to be lighted in honor of the five joys. These candles were called "gauds" (L. *gaudia* "joys") or simply "joys," from their commemorative purpose. At the lighting of the gauds, an anthem might be sung. This was usually the anthem of the season, selected from the Four Great Anthems of the Blessed Virgin Mary: *Alma Redemptoris*, *Ave Regina Caelorum*, *Regina Caeli*, and *Salve Regina*.⁸⁷ People used to endow churches with special funds for the maintenance of the five candles called "gauds." Two wills contain examples of this custom. The association with anthems is worthy of notice:

Item. I gif an acr of lond . . . to find yerely evermore v. gawdies brennyng before our Lady in the chancel of St. John Baptist, at every antiphon of our Lady, and at every feste of our Lady, and at maesse of the same feste, evermore: howbeit I will that whosoever shall hold my place and my londes, shall have the occupation of the said londes and the keeping of the said v. gawdies, and they onys to be renewed in every yere. . . .⁸⁸

I besette to the lytys on the candlestekys afore the hey awtyr. xs. & to the feywe joys afore our Lady xs.⁸⁹

Best loved of the anthems which might be sung in honor of the five joys seems to have been the *Salve Regina*. Provision was often made by will to have this anthem sung every evening of the year (the ecclesiastical calendar permitting) and to provide the gauds which were lighted at the singing.

The association of anthems with the five joys of the Virgin can also be found in a series of meditations in the *Ancren Riwe*. Someone had discovered that five psalms could be arranged so that their initial

⁸⁷ These anthems are seasonal. *Alma Redemptoris Mater*: vespers of the Saturday before the first Sunday of Advent to the second vespers of the Feast of the Purification; *Ave Regina Caelorum*: after the Feast of the Purification to Compline of the Wednesday in Holy Week, inclusive; *Regina Caeli*: compline of Holy Saturday to none of the Saturday within the octave of Pentecost, inclusive; *Salve Regina*: after the octave of Pentecost up to none of the Saturday before Advent.

⁸⁸ Rock, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

⁸⁹ *Idem*.

letters would spell MARIA.⁴⁰ For each of the five joys, the *Ancren Riwle* prescribes a prayer summarizing the event under consideration, followed by one of these psalms, which is prefaced by part of the *Ave Maria*. After the psalm, five *Aves* are said. This procedure is repeated until the five psalms and the five joys have been finished.⁴¹ Concluding his instructions for meditating upon the five joys of the Virgin, the author of the *Ancren Riwle* says, "After her five highest joys, count in the anthems. . . ."⁴² While he does not state by title exactly which anthems he means, a line or so from two may be found scattered through the text: *Alma Redemptoris* and *Ave Regina Cælorum*. These are two of the Four Great Anthems of the Virgin.

Having finished their psalms, prayers, and anthems, the anchoresses are instructed, "Here say 'Hail, Mary' fifty or a hundred times, more or less, as ye have leisure."⁴³ It is therefore evident that the Middle Ages associated devotions in honor of the five joys with Our Lady's Psalter. This is probably the explanation of the poem which troubled Father Thurston, "Coment le sauter noustre dame fu primes cuntrue." Whether the Virgin intended an anthem to conclude the decades of *Aves* or an anthem to conclude each group of fifty *Aves* is a matter of conjecture. Modern practice is our only criterion: the rosary of five decades commonly used by lay people is concluded by the *Salve Regina*.

The fact that candles used to commemorate the five joys were called "gauds," and the fact that anthems and other devotions in honor of the five joys were used in connection with Our Lady's Psalter in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have in all likelihood some bearing upon the purpose of the beads called "gauds" in the medieval paternoster. Since there is no evidence that it was customary in Chaucer's time to separate the decades of Our Lady's Psalter by *Pater nosters*, our interpretation of the words "gauded al with grene" should be selected from customs which can be shown to have prevailed when the *Canterbury Tales* were written. The Prioress' green gauds may have been ornamented markers to facilitate counting, or they may have denoted some practice in connection with the five joys of the Virgin—perhaps anthems, perhaps meditations, perhaps both.

Columbia University

⁴⁰ *Magnificat, Ad Dominum, Retribue servo tuo, In convertendo, Ad te levavi.*

⁴¹ Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴³ *Idem.*

CHATTERTONIANA

By BERTRAND H. BRONSON

In his very fine biography of Thomas Chatterton, E. H. W. Meyerstein points out that the most formative and critical years of the poet's development were nearly coincident with the appearance of Macpherson's Ossianic poetry and with Percy's *Reliques*.¹ Both these poetical ventures excited Chatterton to emulation. He imitated Ossian in more than sufficient quantity, in pieces "translated from the Saxon," which he sent about to the literary magazines: *Ethelgar*, *Kenrick*, *Cerdick*, *Godred Crovan*, *The Hirlas*, *Gorthmund*, *Cutholf*.² Percy's old ballads he aimed at most particularly in *The Bristowe Tragedie*. There is no doubt that Macpherson's current success and quick fame put rash ideas into Chatterton's head; and Meyerstein's characterization of the *Reliques* is eminently just: "a model to anyone who wished to produce antique verse, and appeal to his century at one and the same time."³

It is not so just, however, to describe the *Reliques* as "almost the efficient poetical cause of Rowley."⁴ That honor more properly belongs to a work which, although it has been named in a Chattertonian context, has never been accorded its due as a primary source of inspiration. If not on the personal ambitions, yet on the actual poetry of Rowley's creator, this work, I believe, can be shown to have exerted an influence considerably more powerful than that of the *Reliques*.

The work in question is Elizabeth Cooper's *The Muses Library* (1737, re-issued with altered title pages in 1738 and 1741). This 400-page octavo is one of the earliest attempts to give a historical survey of the elder English poets by exhibiting specimens of their work in a chronological series. The range is from Edward the Confessor to Samuel Daniel.

The first piece in the volume, the Confessor's rhymed deed of gift, was turned by Chatterton to his own uses in Rowley's "translation" of "Turgot's" Account of Bristol. It begins:

Ichē Edward Koning,
Have given of my Forrest the Keeping
Of the Hundred of Chelmer and Dancing,
To Randolph Peperking and to his Kyndling:
With Heorte and Hinde, Doe, and Bocke,
Hare, and Foxe, Cat and Brocke . . .
To kepen and to yemen by all her might. . .

¹ E. H. W. Meyerstein, *Life of Thomas Chatterton* (London, 1930), pp. 54-57.

² All reprinted in the Bristol edition of 1803, ed. Southey and Cottle, Vol. III.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

Of this Chatterton has made:

Iche Edwarde Konynge,
 Yeven Brystoe Castellynge
 Unto the keepynge, Off Leofwynne de Godwynne
 Of Clytoe Kyndlynge; Of Ballarde and Battell
 Le Bartlowe for Cattayle
 Alle that on the watters fote, To take Brugbote. . . .⁸

From Daniel's *Civil Wars* was drawn the piece that ends *The Muses Library*: the scene in which Queen Isabel watches from a window while her husband, Richard II, passes through the street as Bolingbroke's prisoner. Memories of this and of the parallel scene in Shakespeare may have contributed more than history to the content of *The Bristowe Tragedie*.

Langland, Gower, and Chaucer are represented in the *Library*, the first with a long extract relating to the wedding of False and Mede (pp. 9-16), and two shorter passages, Gower with the short tale of the envious man and the miser (pp. 19-22), Chaucer with the Pardoner's Prologue in a villainous text (pp. 24-29). Lydgate is belittled in a derogatory paragraph of introduction, and given but eight lines of his own (p. 30). Occleve's praise of Chaucer is given, with its phrase, "Mirror of Fructuous Entendement" (p. 31), which Chatterton borrowed for the opening stanza of the *Battle of Hastings*, No. 1.⁹

Alexander Barclay, in contrast to Lydgate, gets twelve pages in the anthology, with a complimentary introduction which makes him into a much better model for Rowley than Lydgate could ever have been:

An Author [we are told] of great Eminence, and Merit; tho' not so much as mention'd in any Undertaking of this Nature before. He stiles himself Priest, and Chaplain in the *College of St. Mary-Otore*, in the County of *Devon*, and afterwards Monk of *Ely*. . . . The Reader will, no doubt, observe . . . that he greatly improves the Language. . . . And, in Elegancy of Manners, he seems to have the Advantage of all his Predecessors: as is particularly remarkable, in his Address to *Sir Gyles Alington*; his patron. (pp. 33-34)

In fact, this address has good hints for Rowley's *Epistle to Canynge*. Compare the following:

My spirit shall reioyce to hear that, in effect,
 My workes ye shall reade, and them mende and correct.
 For, though in rude meter my matter I compile,
 Men shall counte it ornate, when ye it list to reade,
 Your tonge shall it polische, garnishe, adorne, and file.

(pp. 35-36)

⁸ *The Muses Library*, pp. 1-2. Chatterton, *Works* (1803), III, 271. Meyerstein, *op. cit.*, p. 190 n., notes that Chatterton might have found the piece in Gibson's *Camden* (1695), p. 344.

⁹ Against the arguments of Bryant, Thomas Warton long ago pointed out that Chatterton could have seen this passage in *The Muses Library*, "a book likely to be found in a Circulating Library, and to be borrowed by a reader of old poetry." Thomas Warton, *An Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley* (London, 1782), p. 110.

Enowe of odhers; of mieselfe to write,
 Requyrynge whatt I doe notte nowe possess,
 To you I leave the taske; I kenne your myghte
 Wyll make mie faultes, mie meynthe of faultes, be less.
Ælla wythe thys I sende, and hope that you
 Wylle from ytte cast awaie, whatte lynes maie be untrue.

(*Works* [1803], II, 192-93)

Further hints for the satirical parts of the same epistle may have come from Barclay's lines on the pretender to Latin learning (p. 40). These are to be compared with Chatterton's stanza on Syr John. And Barclay's religious hypocrites sound somewhat like Canynge's audience at his Feast:

The maners rude, vngodly and vilayne,
 And asses eares cloaked vnder coules,
 Knowing nothing, contemning yet the scooles.

(p. 41)

Compare Chatterton:

The caldermenne doe sytte arounde,
 Ande snoffelle oppe the cheorte steeme.
 Lyche asses wyld ynn desarte waste
 Swotelye the morneynge ayre doe taste,

Syke keene theie ate . . .
 Heie styll the gwestes ha ne to saie,
 Butte nodde yer thankes and falle aslape.

(*Works* [1803], II, 123)

The characteristic seasonal openings of Robert Fabian ("When *Saturne*, with his cold, isye Face," etc., p. 45), of Skelton ("In *Autumpne*, when the *sunne* in *vyrgyne*," etc., p. 49), of Surrey ("The soote season that bud, and bloom fourth bringes," etc., p. 57), of John Higgins ("When Sommer sweete, with all her pleasures, past," etc., p. 142) may well have helped to teach Chatterton the trick of these natural descriptive introductions, which he so beautifully employs for his own purposes, as in the *Balade of Charitie* ("In Virgyne the sweltrie sun gan sheen," etc.). Surrey's poem, in fact, turns on the same kind of counterstroke ("And thus I see among these pleasant thynges / Eche care decayes, and yet my sorrow sprynges") as does one of Chatterton's most famous pieces, the Minstrel's song in *Ælla* ("yette, to mie wylle, / Albeyte alle ys fayre, there lackethe somethynge styll").

There is a good deal in *The Muses Library* of that typical Tudor disillusionment with life, and praise of the middle and low estate which Chatterton for his part never learned but imaginatively adopted in the third *Eclogue* and, in general, as Rowley's personal point of view. There is a very large provision of the rhyme royal rhetoric of the *Mirror for Magistrates* (pp. 89-136, 142-56); generous selections from Harington's *Ariosto* (pp. 298-310) and Fairfax's *Tasso*

In Elizabeth Cooper's Preface, Chatterton would have read of Rowley's age:

Writers there were; but Tast, Judgment, and Manner were lost: Their Works were cloudy as the Times they liv'd in, and, till *Barclay*, and *Skelton*, there was scarce a Hope that Knowledge would ever favour us with a second Dawn. (p. xi)

The volume contains Warner's "pastoral" of Argentile and Curan, in fourteeners, with an introductory note which Percy quotes with approving acknowledgment when reprinting the poem in the *Reliques* (*Library*, pp. 157-68); and Chalkhill's Anaxus and the Witch Orandra (pp. 322-31), in couplets, but suggestive of Chatterton's *Romaunte of the Cnyghte*, which he himself turned into couplets for Catcott's benefit. One of Fairfax's *Eclogues* is given for the first time, it is said, in print (pp. 364-76). From this, as Meyerstein notes (*op. cit.*, p. 176 n.), Chatterton may have caught an echo for his first *Eclogue*:

Firste Roberte Neatherde hys sore boesom stroke,
Then fellen on the grounde and thus yspoke.

Compare Fairfax:

Poor Shepherd *Eglon*, full of sad Distress . . .
Crown'd with a Wreath of Heban Branches broke:
Whom good *Alexis* found, and thus bespoke.

Of these eclogues of Fairfax, Chatterton would have read in the introductory note: "the Learning they contain, is so various, and extensive, that, according to the Evidence of his Son . . . No Man's Reading, beside his own, was sufficient to explain his References effectually" (p. 363).

Harington and the poets of Tottel offer specimens of epigram, such as Chatterton might intersperse here and there in Rowley's prose, or like Canynge's lines on Johne a Dalbenie (II [1803], 119). Breton's *Phillida and Corydon* is likewise included, from which Chatterton could have caught hints for his pretty pastoral duet in *Ælla* ("Tourne thee to thie Shepsterr swayne"). He would see this again in the *Reliques*. Gascoigne's poem on the Fruits of War (pp. 173-80) contains some heraldic rhetoric which deserves to be quoted for the stimulus that it could provide to one of Chatterton's special interests:

Among the Rest that Paynter had some Skil,
Who thus in armes did once set out the same,
A field of *Geules*, and, on a Golden-Hil,
A stately Towne consumed all with Flame,
On Cheafe of *Sable* (taken from the dame)
A sucking Babe (oh) borne to byde Mischaunce!
Begoarde with Blood, and peerced with a Launce.

On high the Helme, I beare it wel in minde,
The Wreath was Siluer poudred all with shot,
About the which (*goutte de sang*) did twinde,

A roll of *Sable*, black and foule beblot!
 The Crest two hands, which may not be forgot;
 For in the Right, a trenchant Blade did stand;
 And in the Left a fiery burning Brand. (p. 174)

In short, *The Muses Library* is a collection thoroughly congenial to Rowley's temperament, to judge by his extant work. Moreover, despite its variety of authors and meters, and the span of ages covered by it, it makes a surprisingly unified impression as a whole. Dates are almost never obtruded on the reader's notice; authors' names are mentioned without emphasis, and no running heads remind one of name or title; there is not even a table of contents or a list of authors. Through the many epistles and mutual allusion among the selections, a sense is created throughout of friendship and community among the poets. In truth, although one does not lose the idea of a historical anthology covering at least four centuries, all but the first thirty pages are actually sixteenth-century work. That temporal distinctions have been blurred in this way—and the bad texts of the earlier selections contribute to the same effect—is a fact of great significance if, as I conjecture, Chatterton came upon the book just as he was awakening to the possibility of realizing the Rowley fantasies with original work. Although his true poetic inspiration lay in the next, the sixteenth, century, it would be natural for him in his first excitement—and in fact easy for a much soberer reader—to conclude from this book that the difference between that and the preceding century was negligible, and more a matter of individuals than of ages.

It is clear enough that as his creative powers developed Chatterton read widely in the works of these and other poets: in Spenser, scantily represented here, whose tourneying passages and metrical curiosity (the latter as exhibited particularly in the *Shepherd's Calendar*) were a strong stimulus; in Shakespeare certainly; perhaps in Drayton's *Barons' Wars*, useful while the *Battle of Hastings* was coming to birth. Surely, too, he came to know Dryden and Pope, whom he put to strange uses; and his own recent predecessors, especially Collins and Gray, and, finally, Churchill. But the present point is that *The Muses Library*, by and large, in tone and temper, in metrics and subjects, is at the very heart of the Rowleian afflatus.⁷ Of no other single work accessible to Chatterton can such an assertion be made. The pieces in the *Reliques* are for the most part much lower than Rowley's emotional and rhetorical pitch, the temporal range scattered and generally late. Variety of interest is the key to Percy's effort and method. By comparison, *The Muses Library* is naïve in the extreme; but it communicates the strong impact of

⁷ This sentence and those which complete the paragraph are borrowed from the present author's essay on Chatterton in *The Age of Johnson: Essays Presented to Chauncey Brewster Tinker* (New Haven, 1949).

those brave translunary things that were most congenial to Rowley's genius. His works belong beside it on the shelf.

A few further words may be ventured on matters critical and editorial, for it will hardly be denied that of all the leading eighteenth-century poets Chatterton is today the most neglected. He has yet to find his definitive editor,⁸ although the way has been cleared by excellent work in various directions, from Tyrwhitt's day to Meyerstein's. There have also been salutary examples of misdirected effort, among which Skeat's edition is outstanding, and deserves a place by the side of Bentley's Milton. Work still remains to be done on pronunciation, as to which, one conjectures, the safest guide, if it could be confidently established, would be the ordinary pronunciation of late eighteenth-century Bristol, with such modifications as are indicated by the clues of particular spellings and rhyme. Chatterton's spelling, one feels, is not quite so erratic as is generally supposed. For example, *ou* and *ow* seem to be phonetically distinguished, the latter (*downe, rowse, howe*) not appearing where the sound intended is *oo*. And again *lyche, alyche* are used so consistently, as opposed to equally consistent *syke*, that one may almost hazard the conjectural emendation of *lyche* for *lycke* in the fourth line of the most famous song, "O! synge untoe my roundelaie." Not to be ignored in that song is the punctuation, with its trochaic implication, of the first two lines: universally disregarded by readers, but in perfect accord with the established accent of every other stanza in the song. Much has been written of the rhythmical subtlety of that piece: "The remarkable thing," exclaims Saintsbury, "is the almost unerring skill with which the variations of the metre are adapted, and the still more wonderful judgment with which the vowel values adjust themselves."⁹ But does this help us if we do not know what the vowel values are? And after all, does anyone know how Chatterton wished that three-line refrain to be accented? Chatterton's best lyrics are almost as ambiguous and difficult to fix metrically as are Campion's, and for the same reason: music is allowed to be the deciding factor. Let any doubter dogmatize on the pastoral in the third *Eclogue*.

Something, after Tyrwhitt and Bryant and Skeat have done their utmost, remains to be cleared up on the score of meaning, both in single words and in phrases. For example, in one of the most shining successes, the song in *Ælla*, "The boddynge flourettes blshes atte the lyghte," what does the word *Tochelod* mean in the last stanza? Shall we be content with Skeat's contemptuous dismissal, "The reader will hardly be able to find such a word as *tochelod*."

⁸ Since these words were written, a complete critical edition of Chatterton has been undertaken by Dr. Donald S. Taylor of Northwestern University.

⁹ Quoted by Meyerstein, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

Possibly it is an error for *tochered*, endowed, from Scottish *tocher*, a dower"; and then rewrite the line, as he does, from

Tochelod yn Angel joie heie Angeles bee

to

Blest with angelic joy, what Angels they!
(II [ed. 1891], 39)

Actually, this makes nonsense of the stanza, which by all the laws of logical statement demands that the antecedent of *heie* should be *menne*: "Although without women men would be beasts, yet under women's influence they are angels." *Tochelod*, then, must be a participial adjective; the *d* must be the sign of it; the *e* which would ordinarily precede must have been omitted, as understood; the *o* must belong to the root of the verb; the word which Chatterton habitually uses for flame is *low*, *lowe*, which he also uses verbally, *enlowed*; the other part of this compound is *toche*, for touch; and the meaning may be taken to be that woman's touch raises man to a state of angelic joy.

Keats was ecstatically fond of the stanza,

Comme, wythe acorn-coppe & thorne,
Drayne mie hartys bloode awaie.

"Methinks," wrote his friend Bailey, "I now hear him recite, or *chant*, in his peculiar manner, [that] stanza. . . . The first line to his ear possessed the great charm."¹⁰ But perhaps one of the charms for Keats was the faery translation, worthy of Shakespeare himself, of the barber-surgeon's function, the lancet and bowl seen in their exquisite equivalents of thorn and acorn-cup. At any rate, none of the editors appears to have observed this felicity.

University of California

¹⁰ Quoted by Meyerstein, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

THE ROMANTIC WRITERS AND EDMUND KEAN

By DONALD J. RULFS

At the opening of the 1813-1814 season the management of the new Drury Lane Theater became very much alarmed by the steadily decreasing nightly receipts. The intake on the opening night, September 11, had been £410; on September 18 it had fallen to £133.¹ The new theater had been open for only one season previous to this, and the debt incurred in the building of the grand structure remained around half a million pounds. The managers were perplexed until they awoke to the fact that, although their company was adequately supplied with comic actors, there was no great tragedian. Whereupon, many actors from the provincial theaters were tried out, but with no success. At the last extremity, ready to accept almost anyone, the management invited from Dorchester an actor by the name of Edmund Kean, who was given the part of Shylock for the night of January 26, 1814. There had been but one desultory rehearsal with an indifferent supporting cast, and the old troupers sneered as the young man put a black wig on his head; the part had been played with a red wig since the days of Burbage.² With a tremendous effort to overcome the bad support, Kean electrified the audience. His acting was passionate and rather violent, though fundamentally highly intelligent. Here was, literally, a new star upon the theatrical horizon, and within a few months he was at the very top of his profession.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to determine the impression which this phenomenon made upon the most responsive, sensitive, and intellectual literary figures of Kean's regime (1814-1833) and to determine the degree to which the actor's genius accorded with the temper of the age. In this connection, Ernest B. Watson makes the following statement:

It has frequently been maintained that romanticism, which took possession of every other realm of English literature during the early nineteenth century, was strangely unproductive in the drama. Nothing could be further from the truth, if we mean by drama, action taking place upon the stage. Romanticism was the very essence of Kean's art. So it was regarded not only by himself, but by all who wrote about him or imitated him. It was not, as in the case of literature, a weak, timid beginning, but it was a sudden, powerful, and altogether triumphant revolution effected within the brief period of an evening's entertainment.³

The greatest impression that Kean made, or at least the most prolific expression of it, is to be observed in the theatrical criticisms of

¹ Harold N. Hillebrand, *Edmund Kean* (New York, 1933), p. 106.

² *Ibid.*, p. 109.

³ *Sheridan to Robertson: A Study of the Nineteenth Century London Stage* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 294-95.

William Hazlitt. From the beginning of his career as theatrical critic, he had been primarily interested in acting, but he had never admired the reserve and statuesque dignity of John Philip Kemble. Therefore, the new passionate style of Kean was, in Hazlitt's opinion, the great salvation of the times. From the very first night Hazlitt was present at all of Kean's major attempts, and his criticisms followed regularly within a day or so in the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Champion*, the *Examiner*, or the *London Magazine*. Furthermore, the benefit of having Kean as a subject for criticism was reciprocated by Kean's having such a capable critic, or, as stated by Hazlitt's biographer: "Hazlitt was perhaps lucky that his *début* synchronised so nearly with that of an actor such as Kean. But if he was lucky, Kean was lucky too."⁴

Since Hazlitt reported at considerable length on all of Kean's major performances and since his criticisms are readily accessible in the Waller and Glover *Collected Works* and, partially, in Hillebrand's *Edmund Kean*,⁵ it will be possible within the scope of this paper to indicate only the highlights of his reactions to individual performances and to conclude with his own general estimate of Kean's talents. In the review of Kean's initial performance of Shylock, in the *Morning Chronicle* for January 27, 1814, Hazlitt admitted the inherent talent of the new actor, but he thought that Kean would be better in other roles and that there was an "over-display of the resources of the art, which gave too much relief to the hard, impenetrable, dark groundwork of the character of Shylock."⁶ As will be noted, this "over-display" was hereafter to be the recurrent note in the destructive parts of Hazlitt's criticisms.

On February 12, 1814, Kean attempted his second great role, Richard III, which Hazlitt reviewed in the *Morning Chronicle*. He stated that the interpretation in general was supreme, especially in the last act.⁷ On the other hand, the objection to overacting appears in a review of the same role in the *Champion* for October 9, 1814:

we really think that Mr. Kean was in a great many instances, either too familiar, too emphatical, or too energetic. In the latter scenes, perhaps his energy could not be too great; but he gave the energy of action alone. He merely gesticulated, or at best vociferated the part. His articulation totally failed him. We doubt, if a single person in the house, not acquainted with the play, understood a single sentence that he uttered.⁸

In general, however, Hazlitt did admire the little details of "business" throughout, an exception which indicates that he was a very close observer of the technique of acting and which continued to appear in his major reviews.

⁴ P. P. Howe, *Life of William Hazlitt* (New York, 1922), p. 157.

⁵ A. R. Waller and Arnold Glover, ed., *Complete Works of William Hazlitt* (London, 1903), 12 vols.; Hillebrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-58 *passim*.

⁶ *Complete Works*, VIII, 179.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII, 182.

⁸ *Ibid.*, VIII, 203.

On March 12, 1814, Kean appeared as Hamlet to challenge Kemble's long-established interpretation. It must be remembered that Kean had a rather short figure and harsh voice as contrasted with Kemble's lofty stature and restrained enunciation. Although the performance was entirely satisfactory so far as receipts were concerned, almost everyone would agree with Hazlitt in thinking that the interpretation was inaccurate:

We will say at once, in what we think his general delineation of the character wrong. It was too strong and pointed. There was often a severity, approaching to virulence, in the common observations and answers. There is nothing of this in Hamlet. He is, as it were, wrapped up in the cloud of his reflections, and only *thinks aloud*. . . . There is no one line in this play, which should be spoken like any one line in Richard; yet Mr. Kean did not appear to us to keep the two characters always distinct.⁹

It is obvious that Kean was miscast in the role and a victim of the evils of the "star-system" of acting. On the other hand, the role of Iago, in which he appeared on May 7, 1814, after an unsuccessful attempt in the role of Othello on May 5, was perfectly suited to his talents. Hazlitt, in his review for the *Morning Chronicle* of May 9,¹⁰ singles out the essential qualities of the performance:

It was the most faultless of his performances, the most consistent and entire. Perhaps the accomplished hypocrite was never so finely, so adroitly portrayed—a gay, light-hearted monster, a careless, cordial, comfortable villain. . . . It was the least overdone of all his parts, though full of point, spirit, and brilliancy.¹¹

In the role of Macbeth at the beginning of the next season, on November 5, 1814, Kean was indifferent as a result of miscasting, or, as Hazlitt states in the review for the *Champion*, November 13, Kean was "deficient in the poetry of the character," but he did like the following details of the performance:

The hesitation, the bewildered look, the coming to himself when he sees his hands bloody; the manner in which his voice clung to his throat, and choked his utterance; his agony and tears, the force of nature overcome by passion—beggared description.¹²

Kean was next miscast in the role of Romeo, in which he appeared on January 2, 1815, for only nine nights. Hazlitt in his review for the *Champion* on January 8 said that "His Romeo had nothing of the lover in it. We never saw any thing less ardent or less voluptuous."¹³ Similarly, in his review for the *Examiner* on July 2, 1815, he discusses Kean's Leon in Fletcher's *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, which had

⁹ *Complete Works*, VII, 187.

¹⁰ Hazlitt also had articles on the same part in the *Examiner* for July 24 and August 7, 1814, but they deal more with the nature of Iago's character than with Kean's acting.

¹¹ *Complete Works*, VIII, 190.

¹² *Ibid.*, VIII, 207.

¹³ *Ibid.*, VIII, 209.

been revived on June 20. On the whole, Hazlitt preferred Kemble in the role, especially in the serious part of the character, but he was pleased with Kean's first attempt in comedy, stating that "We never saw or heard looks or tones more appropriate and ludicrous."¹⁴

Although Kean had been but moderately successful in the role of Leon, he was most favorably acclaimed when he next ventured outside the Shakespearean field to appear as Sir Giles Overreach in Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* on January 12, 1816. He had found nothing in Shakespeare so wild. As will be noted below in connection with the discussion of Byron, the reception was tumultuous, and the play ran steadily until March 9, although Kean continued to appear sporadically in the role until his retirement in 1833. Hazlitt's review for the *Examiner* on January 14 shows him to be as enthusiastic as the rest of London:

We do not know any one now-a-days, who could write Massinger's Comedy of *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, though we do not believe that it was better acted at the time that it was first brought out, than it is at present. We cannot conceive of any one's doing Mr. Kean's part of Sir Giles Overreach so well as himself. . . . The passages which we remarked as particularly striking and original, were those where he expresses his surprise at his nephew's answers, "His fortune swells him!—'Tis rank, he's married!" [V, i] and again, where, after the exposure of his villainies, he calls to his accomplice Marall in a half-wheedling, half-terrific tone, "Come hither Marall, come hither" [II, i]. Though the speech itself is absurd and out of character, his manner of stopping when he is running at his foes, "I'm feeble, some widow's curse hangs on my sword," [V, i] was exactly as if his arm had been suddenly withered, and his powers shrivelled up on the instant. The conclusion was quite overwhelming.¹⁵

This was Kean's last great success. Of his five remaining major roles, Hazlitt was not impressed by any of them as a whole, although he continued to admire individual scenes or speeches. The later roles were as follows: Sforza in Massinger's *The Duke of Milan*, March 9, 1816; Kately in Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*, June 5, 1816; Eustace de St. Claire in George Colman the Younger's *Surrender of Calais*, May 14, 1816; Coriolanus, January 25, 1820; and King Lear, April 24, 1820. Although Hazlitt was not impressed by Kean's delineation of Lear, he did not express the popular opinion, since the performance was repeated for twenty-six consecutive nights.

In concluding, we must go back to the first of the series of essays which Hazlitt wrote for the *London Magazine* during 1820. In the paper for January, Hazlitt gives a summary of his general opinions about the great actor:

To show that we do not conceive that tragedy regularly declines in every successive generation, we shall say, that we do not think there has been in our remembrance any tragic performer (with the exception of Mrs. Siddons) equal to Mr. Kean. . . . In truth of nature and force of passion, in discrimination and

¹⁴ *Complete Works*, VIII, 233.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII, 273-74.

originality, we see no inferiority to any one on the part of Mr. Kean: but there is an insignificance of figure, and a hoarseness of voice, that necessarily *vulgarize*, or diminish our idea of the characters he plays: and perhaps to this may be added, a want of a certain correspondent elevation and magnitude of thought, of which Mrs. Siddons' noble form seemed to be only the natural mould and receptacle. . . . Mr. Kean is all effort, all violence, all extreme passion: he is possessed with a fury, a demon that leaves him no repose, no time for thought, or room for imagination.¹⁶

To turn from the professional criticism of Hazlitt to the impressions which Kean made upon Keats offers a striking contrast. Keats shared with Hazlitt a sincere admiration of the actor, but the former's criticisms and random remarks reflect an almost poetic quality not to be found in the latter's. Keats's criticism is limited to three plays given within the period of one week: *Richard III* on December 15, 1817; *Riches*; or, *the Wife and the Brother*, December 18; and *Richard Duke of York*; or, *the Contentions of York and Lancaster*, December 22. *Riches* was an alteration by Sir James Bland Burges of Massinger's *The City Madam*, with the principal characters retained, and *Richard Duke of York* was an anonymous compilation of the three parts of *Henry VI*.

The part of Richard III and the role of Luke in *Riches* were reviewed together in an article for the *Champion* on December 21, which Maurice Buxton Forman designates as "Keats' most serious attempt at professional criticism."¹⁷ Keats felt that Kean acted the hypocritical Luke to perfection, but it was Kean's performance of Richard which thoroughly arrested the poet. There are preliminary generalizations:

Amid his numerous excellencies, the one that at this moment most weighs upon us, is the elegance, gracefulness, and music of elocution. A melodious passage in poetry is full of pleasures both sensual and spiritual. The spiritual is felt when the very letters and points of characted language show like the hieroglyphics of beauty; the mysterious signs of our immortal free-masonry! "A thing to dream of, not to tell!" The sensual life of verse springs warm from the lips of Kean, and to one learned in Shakespearian hieroglyphics,—learned in the spiritual portion of those lines to which Kean adds a sensual grandeur: his tongue must seem to have robbed "the Hybla bees, and left them honeyless." There is an indescribable gusto in his voice, by which we feel that the utterer is thinking of the past and future, while speaking of the instant. When he says in Othello "put up your bright swords, for the dew will rust them," we feel that his throat had commanded where swords were as thick as reeds. . . . In Richard, "Be stirring with the lark tomorrow, gentle Norfolk!" comes from him, as through the morning atmosphere, towards which he yearns. . . . Surely this intense power of anatomizing the passions of every syllable—of taking to himself the wings of verse, is the mean[s] by which he becomes a storm with such fiery decision; and by which, with a still deeper charm, he "does his spiriting gently." Other actors are continually thinking of their sum-total effect throughout a play. Kean delivers himself up to the instant feeling, without a shadow of a thought about

¹⁶ *Complete Works*, VII, 389-90.

¹⁷ Harry Buxton Forman, ed., *Poetical Works and Other Writings of John Keats*, rev. ed. by Maurice Buxton Forman (New York, 1938-39), V, 233.

anything else. He feels his being as deeply as Wordsworth, or any other of our intellectual monopolists. Kean! Kean! have a carefulness of thy health, an in-nursed respect for thy own genius, a pity for us in these cold and enfeebling times! Cheer us a little in the failure of our days! for romance lives but in books.¹⁸

Aside from presenting the sincere appreciation of the most famous poet of sensuous beauty in the role of a semi-professional critic of acting, the criticism clearly substantiates Mr. Watson's statement, quoted above, to the effect that Kean was decidedly a part of early nineteenth-century romanticism in England. Keats even placed him in the company of Wordsworth. On the same day that this review appeared in the *Champion*, Keats wrote to George and Thomas Keats from Hampstead concerning a recent dinner with Horace Smith and his brothers, Thomas Hill, and others: "They talked of Kean and his low company— Would I were with that Company instead of yours, said I to myself!"¹⁹

In *Richard Duke of York*, Kean took the role of Richard Plantagenet, afterwards Duke of York. Keats's account of the death scene in the *Champion* for December 28 reveals as close an observation of the technique of fine acting as any account written by Hazlitt:

Kean stands like a tower. He is "all power, passion, self-will." His animations flow from his lips as "musical as is Apollo's lute."

It is impossible to point out any peculiar and little felicities,—where the whole piece of acting is of no mingled web. If we were to single a favourite part, we should chuse that in which he parts with his son, *Young Rutland*, just before the battle. It was pathetic to oppression. Our hearts swelled with the feeling of tears, which is a deeper feeling than the starting of them in the eye. . . . His death was very great: but Kean always "dies as erring men do die." The bodily functions wither up,—and the mental faculties hold out, till they crack. It is an extinguishment, not a decay. The hand is agonized with death; the lip trembles with the last breath,—as we see the autumn leaf thrill in the cold wind of evening. The very eye-lid dies. The acting of Kean is Shakespearian;—he will fully understand what we mean.²⁰

Such an observation as the one on the eyelid establishes the point with regard to this very distinctive sort of detailed criticism.

Although Keats did not write further criticisms, his interest in the actor remained intense, for both aesthetic and practical reasons. It is safe to conjecture that Keats went to see Kean on every occasion that he had to be in London, as the following sort of remark in a letter of March 12, 1819, to George and Georgiana Keats indicates: "The weather in town yesterday was so stifling that I could not remain there though I wanted much to see Kean in *Hotspur*,"²¹ a reference to Kean's new production of March 9, *Henry IV, Pt. I*, which was unsuccessful. On August 14 of the same year he wrote to Benjamin

¹⁸ *Poetical Works and Other Writings*, V, 229-32.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, 103.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, V, 243-44.

²¹ *Ibid.*, VII, 245.

Bailey that "One of my Ambitions is to make as great a revolution in modern dramatic writing as Kean has done in acting."²² Furthermore, when he actually came to the writing of his *Otho the Great*, we learn that he had in mind Kean's gift for acting scenes of violence and agony. The practical consideration of having Kean as the leading performer led Keats to state in a letter to George Keats from Winchester, September 17, 1819, that *Otho the Great* "would have been a bank to me," but in the same note he says that he has just learned that Kean is preparing to leave for a tour of America and that "That was the worst news I could have had." He adds that he is afraid that the play would not succeed at Covent Garden, but that if it were successful there it "would lift me out of the mire. I mean the mire of a bad reputation which is continually rising against me."²³ The play was refused at both Covent Garden and Drury Lane.

The next figure to be considered, Leigh Hunt, missed the main span of Kean's triumph, since his two periods as dramatic critic were from 1805 to 1813, when he was with the *News*, and from 1830 to 1832, when he was with the *Tatler*. In the interval, however, very soon after his release from prison in 1815, he saw Kean in *Richard III* and published a criticism in the *Examiner*, in which he expressed disappointment, finding the actor not so glorious as Hazlitt had described him.²⁴ Hunt's opinion in 1831, however, was entirely different, for in that year he writes again in the *Tatler* for February 1 about Kean's Richard:

He is unquestionably the finest actor we ever saw. . . . His voice, which was never of the strongest, painfully fails at times. . . . But we look upon the falling off as entirely physical; at least there was nothing in the performance of last night to indicate that it had anything to do with mental decay. . . . So in "A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!" he could hardly get the words out; and a similar want of power was observable throughout the play generally. . . . But how fine he is when he is fine! how true! how full of gusto! how intense! what a perfect amalgamation there is of the most thorough feeling and the most graceful idealism.²⁵

Kean died less than two years later, but even in his decline he continued to elicit such rapturous and detailed analysis as the above. The delivery of single lines or passages was the element in Kean's acting which particularly appealed to Hunt, as is observed again in the review of the role of Othello for the *Tatler* on February 21 of the same year:

No man after all could give us such an Othello as his is still. The delivery of another famous speech—

"O now for ever
Farewell the tranquil mind,"

was as beautiful as ever; perhaps had a still more touching melancholy. His re-

²² *Poetical Works and Other Writings*, VIII, 25.

²³ *Ibid.*, VIII, 70.

²⁴ William Archer and Robert W. Lowe, ed., *Dramatic Essays of Leigh Hunt* (London, 1894), pp. xv-xvi.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 199-201.

peated farewells, with the division of the syllables strongly marked,—

"Fare-well the tranquil mind! fare-well content!

Fare-well the plumed troop," etc.

were spoken in long, lingering tones, like the sound of a parting knell.²⁶

It is fortunate that Hunt had such a late opportunity of enjoying the great actor, and at the same time the lateness is significant in that Hunt's criticisms are the only ones preserved among the Romantic writers at the very end of Kean's career.

In the case of Byron we return to the beginning of Kean's regime and the subsequent period of triumph. Even before Kean made his first appearance, that is, during the period of try-outs, the poet became enthusiastic over the new discovery, for we learn that "now it is Byron who comes to the defence of the actor against a committee so incredibly blind that it was on the point of dropping Kean's name from the bills."²⁷ In a way he must have considered the new actor as something of a protégé and an idol combined. After Kean was established during his first season, Byron sent him a gold box and a sword, and during the same season he and Thomas Moore frequently sat in the orchestra rather than in Byron's box in order to get a nearer view of Kean's face.²⁸ Furthermore, Susan Chambers, Kean's sister-in-law, who was living with the Kears during the period of triumph, states that "Lord Biron [*sic*] is enchanted with Edmund, and is like a little dog behind the scenes, following him everywhere."²⁹

Upon seeing Kean's second role, Richard III, in which he first appeared on February 12, 1814, Byron wrote hurriedly in his journal on February 19: "Just returned from seeing Kean in Richard. By Jove, he is a soul! Life—nature—truth without exaggeration or diminution. Kemble's Hamlet is perfect;—but Hamlet is not Nature. Richard is a man; and Kean is Richard."³⁰ This shows at the very outset the qualities of Kean's acting that Byron admired. On the next day he confided to his journal the news of a rare opportunity:

An invitation to dine at Holland House to meet Kean. He is worth meeting; and I hope, by getting into good society, he will be prevented from falling like Cooke [George Frederick Cooke, who drank himself to death]. He is greater now on the stage, and off he should never be less.³¹

On the same day, February 20, 1814, Byron wrote in a letter to James Wedderburn Webster that the new actor is superior to Cooke and "will run Kemble hard; his Style is quite new, or rather *renewed*, being that of Nature."³²

²⁶ *Dramatic Essays*, p. 207.

²⁷ Hillebrand, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

²⁸ F. H. Hawkins, *Life of Edmund Kean* (London, 1869), I, 294.

²⁹ Hillebrand, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

³⁰ Rowland E. Prothero, ed., *Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals*, 2nd impression (London, 1903), II, 385-86.

³¹ *Ibid.*, II, 387.

³² *Ibid.*, III, 45.

The enthusiasm had not abated by the end of the season. Writing to Moore early in May, Byron asked: "Was not Iago perfection? particularly the last look. I was *close* to him (in the orchestra), and never saw an English countenance half so expressive. I am acquainted with no immaterial sensuality so delightful as good acting."³³ Byron's only disappointment came at the end of this season, on April 22, when Kean, for some unaccountable reason, took the role of Egbert in Mrs. Wilmot's blank verse tragedy entitled *Ina*, the scene of which is eighteenth-century England. The production was a complete failure. Byron wrote to Moore on the day after the fiasco:

Mrs. Wilmot's tragedy [*Ina*] was last night damned. . . . The first three acts, with transient gushes of applause, oozed patiently but heavily on. I must say it was badly acted, particularly by Kean, who was groaned upon in the third act,—something about "horror—such a horror" was the cause.³⁴

This disappointment was more than compensated, however, by Kean's extremely successful performance of Sir Giles Overreach on January 12, 1816. The interpretation was so violent toward the end that, amid the bellowing of the pit, Byron was seized with a convulsive disorder.³⁵ Furthermore, the degree to which this experience affected him may be gathered from the fact that three years later, after many stormy intervals, the occasion was still fresh in his memory. He wrote to John Murray from Bologna on August 12, 1819:

Last night I went to the representation of Alfieri's *Mirra*, the two last acts of which threw me into convulsions. I do not mean by that word a lady's hysterics, but the agony of reluctant tears, and the choking shudder, which I do not often undergo for fiction. This is the second time for anything under reality; the first was on seeing Kean's Sir Giles Overreach.³⁶

This analysis of emotion is similar to that presented above by Keats in connection with Kean's performance in the role of Richard Plantagenet in *Richard Duke of York*: "It was pathetic to oppression. Our hearts swelled with the feeling of tears, which is a deeper feeling than the starting of them in the eye."

Before he left England, Byron had been appointed a member of the new Drury Lane subcommittee, which was formed during the early part of 1815.³⁷ By this time Kean had become established as a great

³³ *Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals*, III, 81.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 195.

³⁵ Hillebrand, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

³⁶ *Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals*, IV, 339-40.

³⁷ Percy H. Fitzgerald, *New History of the English Stage from the Restoration to the Liberty of the Theatres* (London, 1882), II, 384. After Richard Brinsley Sheridan's arrest for debt in August, 1813, Samuel Whitbread, the statesman and financier who had steered the affairs of the theater through the rebuilding, became manager, but he committed suicide in July, 1815. At this time the managing committee formed a subcommittee to supervise general production. On this subcommittee the Hon. Douglas Kinnaird was chairman, the other members being Lords Essex and Byron, Peter Moore, M.P., and George Lamb.

attraction, and Byron immediately saw various possibilities for the improvement of the state of dramatic fare. He wrote to Coleridge on March 31, 1815, that "there never was such an opening for tragedy," and that, since "We have had nothing to be mentioned in the same breath with *Remorse* for very many years," another play from Coleridge's pen would be welcome.³⁸ Byron's enthusiasm proved contagious; Coleridge took the suggestion seriously. We learn in a letter to Byron dated October 17 of the same year that he planned not one but three plays for the theater,³⁹ two of which were to be alterations of plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Pilgrim* and *The Beggars' Bush*, and the third an alteration of *Richard II*. Unfortunately, however, he had been anticipated by an anonymous comic opera version of *The Pilgrim*, entitled *The Noble Outlaw*, at Covent Garden on April 7, and Douglas Kinnaird's alteration of *The Beggars' Bush* entitled *The Merchant of Bruges; or, the Beggars' Bush* had already been announced in the newspapers for production at Drury Lane on December 15. Within five days, on October 22, Coleridge again wrote to Byron with great urgency:

If, my Lord! you were not yourself a *Committee-man*, I should have ventured to say to the Committee of D. L.—Simply *enable* me to do it—and I will pledge my Honor and my Existence, that, if I live, I will present you a Tragedy by the beginning of December and a Romantic Comic Opera by February—and in the interim correspond with Mr. Dibdin on the subject of a sort of Pantomime, on which I long ago conversed with him. . . .⁴⁰

The tragedy mentioned was not *Zapolya*, for in a letter of April 10, 1816, he speaks of *Zapolya* and the "regular Tragedy, which alone I had designed for you in the first instance";⁴¹ as for the pantomime, Coleridge stated farther along in the letter of October 22 that the title was to be *The Merchant King; or, the King and the Beggar*, which was obviously the adaptation of *The Beggars' Bush* that he had in mind. It is pertinent to note in passing that Coleridge had earlier written to John May, on September 27, 1815, to the effect that he wrote for the stage so that he could be financially independent to complete a tremendous philosophical work, apparently a history of philosophy, in six treatises, to be called *Logosophia*,⁴² though, of course, this work was never completed or published.

Although Coleridge was very brief in his single comment on Kean's acting, his words carry much meaning and perhaps suggest more than many of the detailed accounts of Hazlitt or Keats. In his *Table Talk* for April 27, 1823, he wrote:

³⁸ *Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals*, III, 191-92.

³⁹ Earl Leslie Griggs, ed., *Unpublished Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Including Certain Letters Republished from Original Sources* (London, 1932), II, 144-45.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 150.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, 164-65.

⁴² *Ibid.*, II, 137.

Kean is original; but he copies from himself. His rapid descents from the hyper-tragic to the infra-colloquial, though sometimes productive of great effect, are quite often unreasonable. To see him act, is like reading Shakespeare by flashes of lightning.⁴³

With regard to Charles Lamb, one should recall his essay of 1811 entitled *On the Tragedies of Shakespeare, Considered with Reference to their Fitness for Stage Representation*, in which he objects to the stage production of Shakespeare's plays. The same opinion is to be observed in his review of Kean's performance in the role of Hamlet for the *New Times* several years later, on August 28, 1820:

Kean's vigour and animation are obviously thought injurious to the power of picturing the romantic and grieving spirit of *Hamlet*, and the character is certainly one of the last in which the peculiar merits of this popular actor can find their display. . . . Kean still upheld his reputation on his original points in the play. He was impressive in the interview with the *Ghost*. His address to *Ophelia* was rather violent, yet with some happy touches of tenderness. His dialogue with the *Queen* was animated, and in some parts of its expression admirable. In his churchyard scene, he played as all before him have played, and we venture to think all have played, wrong. He spoke with the sad deliberation of the tone that generally holds as the tone of talking in churchyards. He sermonised as all have done before him.⁴⁴

Since the role of Hamlet has already been noticed as the sort not suited to Kean's talents, one could hardly expect a different criticism from a writer already prejudiced against the acted drama.

The disappointment of Shelley in the great actor was complete, and, again, it was the role of Hamlet which caused the disillusionment. Mary, Jane, and Shelley saw Kean in the part at Drury Lane on October 13, 1814, but they left at the end of the second act.⁴⁵ Mary made the following entry in her diary:

Go to the play. The extreme depravity and disgusting nature of the scene; the inefficacy of acting to encourage or maintain the delusion. The loathsome sight of men personating characters which do not and cannot belong to them. Shelley displeased with what he saw of Kean.⁴⁶

This peculiar aversion to the art of acting is explained as follows by Shelley's most recent biographer: "He regarded the regular stage, however, as a corrupter of principles that were much dearer to him than the entertainment of an hour."⁴⁷ We are informed, further, that with the exception of Henry Hart Milman's *Fazio* (Covent Garden, February 5, 1818), which Shelley admired, the only other play that his friend Thomas Love Peacock ever persuaded him to see was *School for Scandal*, which Shelley did not enjoy.⁴⁸ He greatly admired *Fazio*,

⁴³ T. Ashe, ed., *Table Talk and Omniana of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (London, 1909), p. 25.

⁴⁴ William MacDonald, ed., *Works of Charles Lamb* (London, 1903), III, 60.

⁴⁵ Edward Dowden, *Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (London, 1886), I, 475.

⁴⁶ *Idem*.

⁴⁷ Newman I. White, *Shelley* (New York, 1940), I, 521.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 521-22.

however, because of the acting of Miss Eliza O'Neill, whom he requested Peacock to try to secure for the production of *The Cenci* at Covent Garden in 1819; but in the same letter, written from Livorno on July 20, Shelley adds: "The chief male character, I confess, I should be very unwilling that anyone but Kean should play—that is impossible, and I must be contented with an inferior actor."⁴⁰ Samuel Phelps, manager of Sadler's Wells, declined the play, while Kean and William Charles Macready at Drury Lane and Covent Garden respectively turned it down for unknown reasons.⁴⁰ It is obvious, then, that Shelley, like Keats and Coleridge, later saw the practical advantages of having Kean in the leading role of his dramatic effort intended for stage production.

One mistake in Kean's personal life condemned him in the opinion of Sir Walter Scott, although the pecuniary benefits of Kean's favor are implied in Scott's statement. He wrote to Robert Southey from Abbotsford on April 4, 1819:

I shall not fine and renew a lease of popularity upon the theatre. To write for low, ill-informed, and conceited actors, whom you must please, for your success is necessarily at their mercy, I cannot away with. How would you, or how do you think I should, relish being the object of such a letter as Kean wrote t'other day to a poor author, who, though a pedantic blockhead, had at least the right to be treated as a gentleman by a copper-laced, twopenny tearmouth, rendered mad by conceit and success?⁴¹

The Wordsworths, in the company of Charles and Mary Lamb, saw Kean in *Richard II*, which was revived at Drury Lane on March 9, 1815.⁴² Unfortunately, this was not one of Kean's successes in that he attempted to make Richard a character of passion rather than one of pathos. So far as I have been able to determine, this was the only time the Wordsworths saw Kean, and I have been unable to find evidence of their reaction to him.

In conclusion, one must bear in mind the fact that, although the Shakespearean drama had been consistently acted from the time of the Restoration, the early nineteenth century was particularly fortunate in experiencing such an actor as Kean. The style of his acting was in itself romantic, as contrasted with the classical style of Kemble, and thereby Kean expressed in his own way the temper of the age. Since the reactions noticed came from the most responsive and impressionable minds of the time, a truer estimate of Kean is implied by this survey, not only in the field of applied theatrical criticism but also with regard to the more general nature of Kean's accord with the romantic spirit, a fact which was characteristically phrased by Keats at the

⁴⁰ Roger Ingpen, ed., *Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (London, 1909), II, 699.

⁴¹ White, *op. cit.*, II, 580.

⁴² H. J. C. Grierson, ed., *Letters of Sir Walter Scott* (London, 1933), V, 339.

⁴³ E. V. Lucas, *Life of Charles Lamb* (New York and London, 1905), I, 487.

beginning of his review of *Riches* and *Richard III* for the *Champion*, December 21, 1817:

"In our unimaginative days,"—*Habeas Corpus'd* as we are, out of all wonder, uncertainty, and fear;—in these fireside, delicate, gilded days,—these days of sickly safety and comfort, we feel grateful to Mr. Kean for giving us some excitement by his old passion in one of the old plays. He is a relict of romance—a Posthumous ray of chivalry, and always seems just arrived from the camp of Charlemagne.⁸³

North Carolina State College

⁸³ *Poetical Works and Other Writings*, V, 227.

SOME LETTERS OF JOAQUIN MILLER TO
FREDERICK LOCKER

By JOHN RAINE DUNBAR

During his first visit to England in 1870-1871, Miller, through a letter of introduction from Tom Hood,¹ met Frederick Locker.² It was a fortunate meeting for Miller, for Locker gave him letters "to almost everybody." Locker preserved the letters Miller wrote him from December 9, 1870, to June, 1871, in a bound notebook, along with the manuscript of "Arizonian."³ Two of the letters are brief notes of little consequence; these I have described but not quoted. The others, which throw some light upon Miller's emotions and actions, I have quoted in full in the following pages.

The first letter in the notebook is from Tom Hood, the rest from Miller.

I

Fun Office
80 Fleet Street E. C.
Nov 70

Dear Locker.

Mr. Millar [*sic*] is a pilgrim from the other "rim" of America—San Francisco—a literary man, & contributor to "The Overland Monthly." He is much interested in many people of whom you can tell him, and perhaps show him. I shall be greatly obliged for any courtesy you can show him

Yours always
Tom Hood

II

18 Castle Street Camberwell. Dec 9. 70

F Locker Esq
91 Victoria Street.

Dear Sir

Yours of yesterday is received and I am so pleased with this new proof of your kindness; but I have had such sad news from home that

¹ Thomas Hood, the younger (1835-1874), son of Thomas Hood, the poet and humorist. Hood, the younger, was also a humorist and, from 1865, editor of *Fun*, a comic newspaper founded in 1861.

² Frederick Locker (1821-1895), anthologist and writer of vers de société. He became Frederick Locker-Lampson after 1885, when, on the death of Sir Curtis Lampson, the father of his second wife, Hannah Jane Lampson, Locker took the hyphenated name.

³ These letters, arranged in chronological order by Locker, are to be found in the Willard Samuel Morse collection of Milleriana now in the Claremont College Library, Claremont, California. As all know who have attempted to read Miller's handwriting, his scribble is nearly impossible to decipher. I have tried to give a literal reproduction of the letters. In one instance, where the word is unreadable, I have so indicated it; I have bracketed any dates not written by Miller. I have kept all ascertainable errors in grammar, spelling, and punctuation.

I cannot go into society again for a time.

How delightful it would be to meet Mr. Tennyson. I had rather see him than to look upon twenty kings. As I shall not go on to the Continent for two months yet I may yet meet him. I appreciate the great advantage of being presented by you. I had planed [*sic*] a dinner and had invited some of the company but have postponed it. Some Saturday at one I want to drop in and see you.

Thanking you with all my heart I am truly yours C H Miller

III

72 Hemingford Road Barnsbury. Jan. 26. 71

F Locker Esq

91 Victoria Street.—

Dear Mr Locker—

I drop you this line to let you know my new address, which is above—as you might have kindness [*sic*] or desire to sometime write to me again. I have such a good home here with such darling people that I shall be satisfied with London till spring; and then from all accounts, delighted with her.

I did not see Mr Browning. He lives in a far out beautiful place and I will go out again when the weather is tolerable. I have had two kind notes from your brother.⁴ By the advice of Thurnbury⁵ I have sent a few "Pacific Poems" (6 I think) to the leading papers.⁶ Did I do

⁴ Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815-1881), Dean of Westminster, 1864-1881. A leader in the Broad Church Movement and champion of religious toleration. Married to Lady Augusta Bruce, sister of Lady Charlotte Bruce, first wife of Locker.

⁵ George Walter Thornbury (1828-1876), journalist, man of letters, novelist, biographer. Associated with Charles Dickens on *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*.

⁶ Miller made contradictory statements about *Pacific Poems*. In the *Complete Poetical Works* he recalled: "A thin little book now, called 'Pacific Poems,' and my watch was in pawn before it was out, for I could not find a publisher. One hundred were printed, bearing the name of the printer as publisher." *Complete Poetical Works* (San Francisco, 1897), pp. xi-xii. In *Songs of the Sierras*, he stated: "The foregoing is the preface to a thin book printed here last winter, but not published further than to send less than half-a-dozen copies to the press." *Songs of the Sierras* (London, 1871), p. xii. The wording in the second paragraph of the above letter seems to indicate that he had, or thought he had, more than "half-a-dozen copies" to send out; that as many as one hundred were published cannot be proven. Whatever the number of copies published, the volume was withdrawn by Miller. The story is told in a brochure by Walter M. Hill.

"Some time in the spring of 1871, at the home of Dean Stanley, Cincinnati Hiner Miller was introduced to a young Irish poet, one who is still living and who has made his mark in various fields of literary endeavor. From his pen, under date of June 1st, 1915, there comes the following interesting narrative:

"Dean Stanley introduced me to him as a brother poet likely to befriend a stranger in London. I called upon Mr. Miller, who was living in Whitechapel, and afterwards introduced my friend and compatriot, Mr. George F. Savage Armstrong, to him. We became somewhat intimate, and soon gathered from Mr. Miller that he proposed publishing a volume of poems dealing with New Mexico. He showed us some of these poems, which he entitled "Pacific Poems," in proof. We were both greatly struck with their originality and beauty, but were forced to confess and tell him quite plainly that much of his metre was extremely faulty. He was annoyed but evidently impressed. One day he came to me and said, "Look here, do you mind taking a passage—this passage—pointing to it in his proofs—from my poem Oregonia, and putting it into what you call

right? And had I ought to send any more? If so tell me what papers to send to. They may tell me how to improve. I have been quite at home since I saw you and have met no one but Hood & Thurnbury. I had a letter from the latter last night and will have to take it to Hood to have it read! Thurnbury is very kind to me.

Have you seen Swinburne? I have not. I hope you dined together. I am working on a tale of the tropics—like the first one in "Pacific Poems."

Will you please remember me to kind Lady Charlotte?⁸ And your daughter:—I don't know her name but call her "Geraldine"⁹

I am your devoted friend

C H Miller

correct metre, but altering my words as little as possible." I said, "By all means!" took the proof,—and shortly afterwards sent it back to him corrected in the way asked for. Without telling Savage Armstrong that he had been to me on the subject, he made exactly the same request of him, asking him to correct the same passage in the same way, which Savage Armstrong accordingly did. After a day or two he wrote to each of us somewhat in these terms: "I rather disbelieved what you two boys said about the metre of my poems, and so I put you both to the same test, and as curiously enough your revisions of the same passage came out just the same there must be something in your criticism, and I have decided to revise my book on the lines suggested by you both." No doubt Miller was in a difficult position with his publishers, to whom he probably never explained why he found himself bound to withdraw *Pacific Poems*. How could he give himself away by saying it was due to their technical deficiency? In any case he does not say so in his postscript to "Songs of the Sierras," a title suggested by Savage Armstrong, a volume of more than twice the length of *Pacific Poems*, but embodying them in a revised form. My friend George Francis Savage Armstrong, like Joaquin Miller, has joined the great majority, so I have been unable to obtain his confirmation to the above statement, but his widow has written to confirm my view of what happened between us and Miller, saying that "he had assisted Miller to tune up his poems" and given him the title of "Songs of the Sierras" for his enlarged volume." *A Rare First Edition: Being the Story of Joaquin Miller's Pacific Poems (1871)* (Chicago, 1915).

The writer of this note to Mr. Hill was Alfred Perceval Graves (1846-1931), who published many volumes of Irish songs and ballads. George Francis Savage Armstrong (1845-1906) was an Irish writer and poet.

Confirmation of the above story was given by Miller himself in *Pacific Poems*, where he wrote: "P. S. I got the foregoing and the two following Poems in type, about half the contemplated book, when I fortunately met with an able critic, who kindly looked over the proofs, and advised me not to publish. I shall follow his advice, for the fact of his being a critic does not depend entirely on the fact that he never wrote a successful line in his life, but he has good judgment and a well-balanced head; in fact I know of nothing equal to the equilibrium of his mind, except, it may be, its stupidity.—M." *Pacific Poems* (London, 1871), pp. ix-x.

⁷ Presumably one of the narratives in *Songs of the Sierras*. Since Miller thinks of "Arazonian," "the first one in 'Pacific Poems,'" as a "tale of the tropics," the poem he is working on could be any one of his early narratives dealing with the Southwest.

⁸ Lady Charlotte Bruce married Frederick Locker in July, 1850; died in 1872.

⁹ The one child of the marriage of Charlotte and Frederick Locker was Eleanor Locker, who married Lionel Tennyson, and, later, Augustine Birrell. She died in 1915. Locker used the name Geraldine to refer to her in some of his poems.

IV

80 Fleet Street E. C.
Ap 16. 71

F Locker Esq
91 Vict. St. Westminster

Dear Mr Locker

I have just finished the proof of my new book¹⁰—it will be out in a week—And what do you think?—The Rossettis who have seen some of the proofs praise it the best after Whitman in America. Of course I am delighted and knowing your kind and sympathetic nature hasten to write you of my prospective success. When I hear where you are I will send you a book—Are you still at Hastings? And is Hastings pleasant now? I want to go out for a week or two in four or five days and think of going to Hastings. Please let me hear from you—I was at Rossettis last night—All well, and asking after you.

As it is uncertain where I shall be when you answer you had better write to 80 Fleet Street (Hoods) and it will be sent to me—If you are in town I shall call and see you before I go out.

Sincerely [sic] yours
C H Miller

V

72 Hemingford Road Barnsbury June 6 71
My Dear M Locker

I am suffering from weak eyes brought about by the use of gas and coal which is death to my unrefined sight, hence this day of delay in answer. I accept your congratulations thankfully [sic] indeed. These dear Brittons [sic] are putting me under a load of obligations for their kind Reviews—in fact they are kinder to me than to their own writers. My dear Locker you was [sic] the first man after Tom Hood to take me by the hand and introduce me to your friends, and now my chiefest [sic] joy in my success is that I am no reproach to you who so bravely and nobly reached a hand to me a stranger.

I have been to Oxford, Stratford, Hastings, Brighton, Isle of Wight and many places lately. I should now like to see Mr Browning, and also go into hear a debate in Parliament. Do you have any time or disposition to go with me to either or both places sometime next week?

May I be remembered to Lady Charlotte and Miss Locker—

I dined at Gabriel Rossettis the other evening. They are always asking me of you. I see a great deal of them and think them very true and noble men and women.

Sincerely yours

C H Miller

¹⁰ *Songs of the Sierras* (London: Longmans, 1871). This volume contained "Arazonian" from *Pacific Poems*, a reworking of "Oregonia" from *Pacific Poems*, herein entitled "Ina," and five other poems: "With Walker in Nicaragua," "The Tale of the Tall Alcalde," "The Last Taschastas," "Burns and Byron," and "Californian."

VI

[June 12, 1871. Miller tells Locker he has met Browning and asks Locker to go with him to lunch with Browning.]

VII

[June '71¹¹]

Monday

Dear Locker

The letter you speak of came all right—: You had redirected it and it reached me this morning.—Was from the Brownings—I did not see Hood but am going down now and will try and get the *Overland* I spoke of. I gave Armstrong,¹² a young friend of mine, the *printers* draft of "Arazonian" and thought that was all I had but looking through to "pack up" to day I found the original draft.—on old scraps and fragments as I first wrote it and as it first formed in my mind and fell on the paper, and this I send you; as the best I can do.¹³ Permit me to say *this* poem was written *sudden* [*sic*] and swiftly. I got up to go and hear [name illegible] preach but it rained dismally so I sat and wrote all day and all night and when the maid came in to spread the breakfast I stopped and "Arazonian" such as it is was done—These sheets I send you But do not understand I *always* get on so fast. With Walker for example cost me about 50 days and nights work—

Yours

Joaquin Miller

VIII

[No date. Miller tells Locker he is leaving soon and wishes to call with Rossetti.]

IX

Easton Pa. US. Sept. 25. 71

F. Locker Esq 91 Victoria Street Westminster. W. London England
Dear Locker—I am going West without seeing Boston but will call there on my way back to Europe next spring. I have had some deep

¹¹ Written in what appears to be Locker's handwriting.

¹² See note 6.

¹³ In "Notes from an Old Journal" under date of March 26, 1871, Miller wrote: "I have met —, the society poet of this city. I met him through Tom Hood. And he is a character—a sweet, gentle character, but so funny. Yet here I am on forbidden ground. The decent custom of Europe, which forbids mention of men in channels such as this, cuts out nearly all that is of interest in journals. But this one man stands out like a star in his quaint and kind originality. He gave me letters to almost everybody, and I in turn gave him the manuscript of 'Arizonian,' written mostly on old letters and bills, for it was written in one night and at a single sitting—and I got out of paper. But I think this generous-hearted gentleman half regretted giving me the letters; and I shall not present all of them." *Memories and Rime* (New York, 1884), pp. 26-27.

Martin Severin Peterson, in the one accurate and well-documented life of Miller, identifies the "society poet" as being Lord Houghton. *Joaquin Miller: Literary Frontiersman* (Stanford, California, 1937), p. 64. From the statements in the above letter and from the fact that the manuscript of "Arazonian" is included in the notebook which also contains these letters to Locker, it is clear that the "society poet" who so generously helped Miller was not Lord Houghton, but Frederick Locker.

trouble here from deaths¹⁴ and am not in the best of health but my book has gone through America like a comet through the Heavens.¹⁵

My Dear Locker I have lost my little book containing the addresses of my London friends and am not certain that this letter will reach you as I address it only from memory. I sent you my revised book.¹⁶ I also ventured to send to your friends Tennyson & Browning each a book in care of your brother Dean Stanley. Please explain to the Dean that I was not certain of your address else I had not troubled him with them. I also sent one to the Dean. My love to Lady Charlotte & "Geraldine" & I remain yours truly C H Miller.

X

San Francisco Cal. USA. New Years Day 1872.

To F Locker Esq 91 Victoria St. Westminster W. London.

My Dear Mr Locker

I have received your letter, and am sorry indeed to learn that Lady Charlotte is still ill. From the tone of your letter you too seem not well, or at least not in good heart. I tender you my sincerest sympathy. please accept it for it is indeed earnest [*sic*]. As for myself I am in better health than for years. Am in fact hale and well, as the enclosed picture, which you will please give your little daughter, will show.¹⁷

I sent Browning, to your care, not knowing his address, an "Overland Monthly" containing a short but fine review of his new book.¹⁸

¹⁴ His sister Ella died before he left England, and his brother John had just died in Easton.

¹⁵ Miller seems to have been speaking too optimistically and before many of the reviews were out. When one looks at a number of them, one finds that Miller's comet was soon grounded.

The Boston *Daily Advertiser* praised the descriptive passages and placed Miller "somewhere between Byron and Morris, but higher, in some respects, than either." (October 7, 1871.) *Scribner's* also was generous and, while admitting his faults, felt one should not demand too much of such an immature and uneducated young man. (III [1871], 125-27.) Both the New York *Daily Tribune* (September 29, 1871) and *Harper's* (XLIV [1871], 140) liked his vigor and deplored his lack of truth. The *World* (New York), the *Nation*, and the *Atlantic* condemned the book. To the *World* Miller was indecent and a "patent manufacturer of explosive literature for the English market. . . ." (September 30, 1871.) The *Nation*, after admitting that "Arizonian" had some good in it, added: "We cannot say as much for the rest of the volume. Bitterly bad, indeed, is what it is necessary to call it if one would be accurately descriptive." (XIII [1871], 196.) The *Atlantic* felt that, though "Arizonian" was imperfect and ludicrously faulty, it was a poem. But "Kit Carson's Ride" was "so outrageously bad as a poem that it need not be discussed," and, though Miller had some ability, it could be found only "amidst a dreadful prolixity and chasmal vacancies." (XXVIII [1871], 772.)

¹⁶ *Songs of the Sierras* (Boston, 1871). This edition contained all the poems in the earlier London edition plus "Kit Carson's Ride," "Myrrh," and "Even So." "Arizonian" was changed to "Arizonian."

¹⁷ The photograph is pasted in the front of the bound notebook containing the letters. It is by Bradley and Rulofson, 429 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California.

¹⁸ This is a review of *Balaustion's Adventure*, praising it for its fire, strength, and skill and comparing it to Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*. (VIII [1872], 99-100.)

Please send it to him with my affectionate regards. He may like to see it, not so much that it is favorable, but because it is from this coast—to be read on the Sacramento!!

I have been coasting—up to Oregon and to British America and down to Mexico, and now I am off for the Tropics soon.¹⁹ My little Maud²⁰ is well and is delighted with Lady Charlottes gift. My love to Graves²¹ and all our mutual friends. I will write him soon. Hoping to be remembered to Lady Charlotte and your daughter I remain, yours truly, Joaquin Miller

Claremont Men's College

¹⁹ We know Miller was in Oregon late in 1871 and that Minnie Dyer Miller had made public his treatment of her, saying he had deserted her and his three children. This charge is not quite accurate, for apparently Miller sent her money, though in an insufficient amount. We know nothing about his coasting up to British America or down to Mexico, though we do know he soon left San Francisco for Brazil. Peterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-73.

²⁰ Maud Miller, Joaquin's daughter by his first legal wife, Minnie Dyer Miller.

²¹ See note 6.

DID WHITMAN WRITE *THE GOOD GRAY POET*?

By E. H. EBY

It is generally accepted that William Douglas O'Connor wrote *The Good Gray Poet*. The book is dated September 2, 1865, signed by O'Connor, and was published in 1866 as an impassioned defense of Whitman against the accusations of James Harlan, Secretary of the Department of the Interior, that *Leaves of Grass* was "full of indecent passages" and the poet was a "very bad man" and a "free lover." Neither the two men most concerned, Whitman and O'Connor, nor anyone else in a position to know the facts questioned O'Connor's authorship so far as we know.

Recently, however, Nathan Resnick has tried to prove that Walt Whitman wrote *The Good Gray Poet* or at least had a hand in writing a substantial part of it.¹ The evidence and the arguments for this thesis boil down to the contentions that Whitman had the habit of such disguised self-laudation and that the stylistic similarities prove his authorship.

Mr. Resnick reminds us that Whitman wrote anonymous, laudatory reviews of his own work, large sections of John Burroughs' *Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person* (1867), R. M. Bucke's *Walt Whitman* (1883), and O'Connor's "The Introductory Letter" (1883). Furthermore Whitman defended such practice and asserted that O'Connor agreed with him. All this, however, proves only that Whitman might have written *The Good Gray Poet*.

Thus the decisive question remains: Did Whitman write in whole or in part this work? Here Mr. Resnick depends on internal evidence by examining O'Connor's other writings for stylistic characteristics in order to prove that he did not write like Whitman. Yet Mr. Resnick admits that O'Connor's novel *Harrington* (already written and in proof when Whitman and the novelist first met in 1860) has unusual words characteristic of the bard, even phrasings and cadences that are similar. Moreover, O'Connor's short story, "The Carpenter" (*Putnam's Magazine*, January, 1868), has even more marked similarities and is in addition an obvious idealization of Whitman in the role of a Christlike carpenter. In consequence, the verbal and stylistic differences that Mr. Resnick thinks he finds do not prove that O'Connor could not write like Whitman, even if taken at their face value. But many of these differences need not be so taken since they depend on subjective impressions.

In an appendix Mr. Resnick tries to advance his argument by comparing Burroughs' *Notes* and *The Good Gray Poet*. While Whit-

¹ Nathan Resnick, *Walt Whitman and the Authorship of the Good Gray Poet* (Brooklyn, New York: Long Island University Press, 1948).

man had a hand in writing the *Notes*, it is not entirely his; why not compare Whitman's undiluted writings with the work in question? The argument for authorship by showing stylistic and verbal similarities is rarely conclusive; in the present instance it is seriously weakened because O'Connor had a style not unlike Whitman's, was an ardent admirer and close friend, and was greatly influenced by the poet's style and ideas. Besides, a writer of such a vindication would be likely to have Whitman's work at hand or fresh in his mind; even paraphrasing of some of it would be normal. That O'Connor would have consulted Whitman, would have accepted information and written material supplied by Whitman, and would have submitted his manuscript for suggestions by Whitman, is to be expected. Naturally, one would find similarities under such circumstances.

Therefore, an investigation of *The Good Gray Poet* and Whitman's published work, particularly his prose, to discover both differences and similarities is essential. O'Connor's text as given in R. M. Buck's *Walt Whitman* (1883) is used and the *Concordance of Whitman's Leaves of Grass and Selected Prose*.² *The Good Gray Poet* contains some 15,000 words exclusive of quotations, while the prose included in the concordance runs to three times that amount and the poetry to about nine times as many words.

A list of 151 words in the O'Connor work was chosen, words that seemed unusual and might prove to be distinctive for either writer. These words were then looked up in the concordance to see if Whitman used them in his verse or in his prose that is included in the concordance. The following words were unique to *The Good Gray Poet*:

abominations	boy-innocence
abortions (W. uses aborted once)	Bull, Jovian (neither)
acaldema	cadences
accessories	cant
all-commanding	carnal
anonymous	century-shaking
arduous	chalice
auricular	chimerical
avalanches	civilities
bawdy	cloven
bedlam	conceivability
bella donna (neither word)	conceptive
benign	concomitant
bizarre	confraternity
bodied forth	contumely
bolted (language never b—)	corresponsive
Bonheur, Rosa	debauchees
	decency

² E. H. Eby, *A Concordance of Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass and Selected Prose Writings* (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1949). Fascicles I and II printed.

disgusting	parterre
doppelgangers	phlegmatic
emaciations	pigmy
emasculate	plenitudes
epithets	polity
equivocal	presentative
erotic	prudes
excerpts	puerile
excruciated	quashing
exemplifies	re-enforcement (W. re-
expectorating	inforcement, 1 prose)
expurgator	remission
exterminating	scoratory
fabric	scurrilous
full-fluted	sniffle (W. snivel, 1
gendering	poetry)
gill	Sodom
holy-hearted	sombrero
horrid	spawned
immuring	spittle
inanity	squirts
indelicacy	sublimed
indelicate	sunbows
lampions	tansy
lascivious	tobacco-juice
limbo	travesty
lion-roar (W. lion roar,	turpitude
1 prose)	well-compounded
miscarriage	witless
mitigate	yeoman
pantalettes	

TOTAL 94

The words in the list taken from *The Good Gray Poet* which were used by Whitman either in his prose or his verse follow:

O'CONNOR	WHITMAN		O'CONNOR	WHITMAN	
	PROSE	POETRY		PROSE	POETRY
accumulated	3	7	copious	7	18
afflatus	0	1	denotes	0	1
alimentary	1	3	depraved	3	0
amativeness	1	2	devotees	1	0
amorous	1	10	dissolute	0	1
autochthonic	3	0	educated	1	0
bards	7	27	electric	5	1
blackguards	0	3	en masse	1	9
blurt	0	1	ensemble	7	8
candor	2	3	euphemism	1	0
carol	0	20	exquisite	2	12
clinch	1	6	facades	2	9
civilizees	1	0	fantastic	1	0
compend	0	1	futurity	0	1
confectioners	2	1	gorgeous	5	9

O'CONNOR	WHITMAN		O'CONNOR	WHITMAN	
	PROSE	POETRY		PROSE	POETRY
hectic	1	2	nonchalant	0	3
hiccups	0	1	ordure	0	1
idiom	1	2	picturesque	1	5
ignominy	1	0	sacerdotal	1	1
imperial	3	2	scallawag	1	0
incarnations	2	4	seminal	0	2
Jehovah	0	2	serenities	1	0
Kosmic	2	1	sumptuous	0	2
lavished	0	5	tacit	1	1
libidinous	1	2	tallying	5	8
livid	0	4	teeming	3	23
magnetic	0	5	torrents	0	3
measureless	4	17	vibrating	0	3
nimbus	0	5			
				TOTAL 57	

Since the writings included in the concordance are twelve times as extensive as *The Good Gray Poet*, there should be twelve times the probability that Whitman would use a given word. Yet over 62 per cent of the list from O'Connor is not used by Whitman in spite of the fact that no attempt was made to exclude words that were known or thought to be used by Whitman. If the comparison were confined to the prose as one might maintain that it should be, the number not used by Whitman would be 114 out of 151. (In determining usage all direct forms from the root were counted, e.g., accumulation, accumulations, accumulate, accumulated, accumulating, would be counted.)

Another test was made by choosing some twenty words that seemed to be used excessively by O'Connor. When they were counted in the text, the list reduced to the eight below. These were compared to Whitman's usage in the prose concordance.

	O'CONNOR	WHITMAN	FOR COMPARABLE FREQUENCY
great	67	132	44
noble	25	12	4
grand	19	42	14
vast	12	25	8
divine	10	16	5
infinite	9	9	3
absolute	9	15	5
immense	8	5	2

To get comparable frequencies the numbers in the Whitman column are divided by three, since the concordance covers three times as much prose as there is in *The Good Gray Poet*. The differences are great enough to suggest that two different men wrote the works compared.

The many names of writers that occur in *The Good Gray Poet* were excluded from the list because they seemed obviously the result of the special subject under consideration. In other ways, how-

ever, they reveal marked differences from Whitman's practice. The Greek and Latin authors mentioned by O'Connor are: Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Cicero, Diogenes, Herodotus, Homer, Juvenal, Lucretius, Petronius Arbiter, Plato, Plutarch, Socrates, Tacitus, and Virgil. Mr. O'Connor shows a familiarity with the classical writers that Whitman did not have. Pertinent quotations in Latin are included. It is also significant that O'Connor used the spelling Aeschylus while Whitman spelled it Eschylus. Four Italian authors are named: Aretin, Boccaccio, Giordano Bruno, and Dante; in the case of Dante several rather extensive quotations in Italian are included. Whitman did not have knowledge of Italian, nor did he have familiarity with or enthusiasm for Montaigne and Rabelais which is noticeable in *The Good Gray Poet*.

Whitman's practice in both poetry and prose was to use 'd for the *ed* of the past tense. There is none of this in *The Good Gray Poet*, nor is there Whitman's excessive use of the dash.

If it be argued that Whitman was disguising his authorship and therefore would eliminate such tell-tale signs of his own style, then it would also follow that he would avoid such distinctive words as alimentary, amateness, autochthonic, bards, carol, civilizee, confectioners, en masse, ensemble, Kosmic, tallying, and teeming. But they are to be found in O'Connor's vindication.

It would seem, then, from the evidence here presented that Whitman did not write *The Good Gray Poet*, but that O'Connor, who did, had absorbed some of Whitman's characteristics.

University of Washington

FALLMERAYER UND DIE AUGSBURGER
ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG

Von MYRA R. JESSEN

(Schluß)

III

Drei Briefe an Kolb vom Anfang des Jahres 1851 übergehen wir hier, weil sie nichts Direktes mit Fallmerayers Beziehung zur A.A.Z. zu tun haben, sondern zum Streite mit dem reaktionären Johann Nepomuk Ringseis gehören,⁷⁶ einem Kapitel, das noch keine erschöpfende Darstellung erfahren hat. Fallmerayers aufreizender Artikel gegen Ringseis war in den *Blättern für literarische Unterhaltung* erschienen und die Briefe an Kolb bitten z.T. um Verzeihung wegen der "unverantwortlichen Torheit." Die Angelegenheit stimmt ihn zum trüben Rückblick auf sein Leben und zur Einsicht, "daß ich nach und nach aus allem vertrieben und einer völlig besiegten Partei wenigstens dem Scheine nach angehörig ohne Halt und Schwerpunkt völlig dem leeren Raum verfallen bin."

Trotz dieser Zurücksetzung geht der Kampf um Streichungen weiter, wie zwei Briefe über den Artikel "Titus Tobler, *Golgatha. Seine Kirchen und Klöster*" zeigen:

München 4 April 1851

Verehrter Freund,

Grob ist es freilich wenn man von seinen letzten Freunden u Bundesgenossen eine solche Behandlung erfahren muß.

Indessen willige ich mit Resignation in die Weglassung aller jener Stellen, die im MSS. angestrichen sind, jedoch in der Voraussetzung daß Sie Ihre Härten, Ihre Verfolgungssucht u Ihre Rache gegen den armen Fragmentisten nicht weiter ausdehnen u die Weglassungslücken jedesmal durch einige Punkte freundlich u nachsichtsvoll dem Leser bemerklich machen.

Bringen Sie mich nicht zur Verzweiflung; ich könnte ja am Ende für das Institut doch noch von einigem Nutzen seyn!

Der Tag, an welchem ich den unglücklichen Artikel⁷⁷ *cum honore* in der Beilage erblicke, ist für mich ein Freudentag u der Anfang neuen Lebens u wiedergeborener Energie.

Herrn Nipitz verspreche ich vorläufig nichts Gewisseres weil mein ganzer Sinn auf die A.Z. gerichtet ist. *Vale*.

Ihr ergebenster
Fallmerayer.

München 15 April 1851

Verehrter Freund,

Die k. Akademie d.W. in Wien hat mir alle ihre Sitzungsberichte, Abhandlungen u Denkschriften überschickt u ich habe das "Fragment Jerusalem"⁷⁸ auf

⁷⁶ München, 1.2., 4.2. und 13.3.1851 an Kolb. Zum ganzen Vorfall cf. Seidler 111, 134 und *Schriften* II, 348 f.

⁷⁷ Cf. *supra*, "Tobler, *Golgatha*" erschien A.A.Z. B 98 (8.4.1851).

⁷⁸ "Fragmente aus dem Orient. Vier Wochen in Jerusalem, December 1847," A.A.Z. B 227, 230, 249, 260 (1851); G.W. I, 99-142.

ein paar Wochen bei Seite geschoben. Ein langer Artikel mit dem Titel: "Die k.k. Akademien d. W. in St. Petersburg, München u Wien in ihren Beziehungen zu den byzantinischen Studien"⁷⁹ liegt mundirt, copirt u vollkommen druckfähig auf dem Tisch u wird morgen oder übermorgen zur beliebigen Einsicht nach Augsburg kommen, obwohl ich voraus weiß, daß Sie ihn nicht brauchen können. Sehen aber sollen Sie das Product durch bevor es zu Brockhaus nach Leipzig geht u als Pendant zum "Kurzen Bericht" in den Bl. für lit. U. figurirt.

Die Affaire mit dem unseligen u strohdürren Tobler-Artikel⁸⁰ hat mich so erschreckt u ermüdet, daß ich eine ähnliche Last auf die Schultern zu laden nicht mehr fähig wäre.

"Gut oder nicht gut!" "Unsinn oder Nichtunsinn" soll hinfüro zwischen uns das erste u letzte Wort, die einzig übliche Lösung seyn.

In der Weise wie mit dem Tobler Artikel komme ich noch um den letzten Rest meiner Reputation, u das erschütterte Ansehen wieder herzustellen ist eine Freiheit der geistigen Bewegung nöthig, die Sie wenigstens mir nun einmal nicht gestatten wollen. Urtheilen Sie nun selbst ob ich auf den günstigen Erfolg des hierosolymitischen⁸¹ Fragments noch großes Vertrauen hegen darf.

Zur Vereinfachung des Verkehres erhalten Sie die *Academica* ohne weitere Erinnerungen u senden sie Ihrerseits in derselben Kürze u Zeitersparniß nach raschem Durchflug wieder freundlichst hierher zurück. *Vale*.

Your faithful Fallmerayer

Riehl⁸² wird uns anderen noch ganz das Handwerk legen!

Unwille u Schamgefühl über die harten Bedingungen, zu denen man mich herabzusteigen genöthigt hat,⁸³ locken allmählig Energie u Selbstvertrauen der früheren Periode wieder aus dem Schlummer hervor. Zorn, Scham u Reue können mich allein noch in Erregung setzen u ich blättere stundenlang fast jeden Tag in meinen alten Reisejournalen herum.

In diesem Zusammenhang wirft ein Brief des Fürsten Lichnowsky an Cotta aus dem Jahre 1840 ein interessantes Licht auf die Behandlung, die einer aus dem entgegengesetzten Lager an den Händen Kolbs zu erfahren befürchtete:

Beifolgend der Artikel ["Frankreich im Beginn von 1840"], dem ich noch einen Schwanz angesetzt habe.—Es bleibt also dabei, daß ich mir dringend jede Verstümmelung auch nur eines j verbitte; Sie wissen, daß ich weniger die Zensur, als die dahinter sich verbergende jacobinische Korrektur des Hr. Dr. Kolb meine —Ferner also bitte ich, daß es in einem Male erscheine, mein Artikel verträgt nicht in zwei Portionen serviert zu werden.—Alles unter der Lilie.⁸⁴

Weitere fünf Briefe aus dem Jahre 1851, aus denen hier nur kurze Auszüge aufgenommen sind, zeigen die allmählich erkaltenden Beziehungen zwischen Kolb und Fallmerayer.⁸⁵ Dieser beneidet den Archäologen Julius Braun, der auf dem Ehrenplatz glänzt, "während

⁷⁹ A.A.Z. B 116 (26.4.1851).

⁸⁰ Kolb hatte den Tobler-Artikel zweimal zurückgewiesen.

⁸¹ Jerusalemischen.

⁸² Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl (1823-97), Journalist, später Universitätsprofessor in München und Direktor des Bayr. Nationalmuseums. Cf. *supra* S 4-5.

⁸³ Der Zwist Ringseis endete mit einer "Rüge" von Seiten der Bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften.

⁸⁴ Cotta III, 79.—Die Lilie war das bourbonische Wappenzeichen, zur Bekundung seines karlistisch-legitimistischen Standpunkts.

⁸⁵ München, 27.8., 4.11., 9.11., 13.11., 3.12.1851.

Sie mich immerfort auf die Eselbank verweisen." Das *Deutsche Museum* von Robert Prutz nimmt nun seine Sendungen mit großer Freude an, und Fallmerayer bittet Kolb, alles, was er nicht brauchen könne, "ungesäumt" zurückzuschicken: "Wie Herr Prutz schreibt, genießt unser einer in Nord-Deutschland noch viel stärkeren Credit als bei den Beichtvätern in Wien, in München und bei vielen anderen Summitäten der Gegenwart." Selbst wenn Kolb eine längere Arbeit, wie das Fragment "Vier Wochen in Jerusalem" annimmt, ist der Verfasser besorgt, weil die A.A.Z. "um ihre Stellung nicht zu gefährden alles Energische und Wahre im Ausdruck abzuschwächen und den Sinn der Arbeit selbst zu entmannen und zu verwässern sich veranlaßt fühlen kann." Da würde er es lieber Prutz überlassen, denn er kann sich einiger Groschen wegen nicht entschließen, das Ganze zerstören zu lassen.

Ende dieses Jahres hat Fallmerayer in einem längeren Brief der A.A.Z. eine Besprechung angeboten von einem ungarischen Werk *Über Gegenwart und Zukunft der europäischen Politik. Der Einfluß der herrschenden Ideen des 19. Jahrhunderts auf den Staat*.⁸⁶ Von diesem Artikel meint Babinger,⁸⁷ "er gehört wohl zu dem allerbesten, was der Fragmentist an kritischen Anzeigen jemals geschrieben hat." Schon im Oktober hatte F. direkt an Eötvös die Besorgnis geäußert, daß Augsburg die Anzeige nicht billigen würde: "Keine unterschiedene Meinung" in Augsburg, kein energisches Wort; man will lauwarms Wasser und klingelnde Phrasen ohne Kraft und Sinn!"⁸⁸ Die Zurückweisung kann also kaum aus dem Grunde geschehen sein, der vom Verfasser im folgenden Briefe befürchtet wird:

München 25 Dez. 1851

Verehrter Freund,

Seit bald sechs Monaten immer die alten Gedanken, die das Publicum schon lange kennt, die es nicht mehr lesen will, u die mich bereits selber langweilen! Diesem Übel kann nur eine längere Pause u eine innere Wiederherstellung abhelfen.

Von Neujahr angefangen sollen Sie auf weiß Gott wie viel Zeit sicher seyn, u wenn ich in der nächsten Periode überhaupt noch etwas wirke, so sollen die *mischievous exertions* meiner armen lahmen Muse in Blätter zweiter u dritter Ordnung wandern.

Lit. Produkte u Artikel-Bitten aus Bremen, Oldenburg, Strelitz geben zu vermuthen, daß der Credit auswärts noch nicht ganz erstorben ist. Ich bin aber müde u werde von jetzt nichts mehr von Gefälligkeiten wissen; ich möchte wieder einmal nach eigener Bestimmung müßig oder thätig seyn.

Nur dem Hn. v. Eötvös⁸⁹ konnte ich den Dienst nicht versagen u ein mäßiger

⁸⁶ Von Josef Freiherrn von Eötvös. Wien 1851 in deutscher Übersetzung.

⁸⁷ *Schlern* II, 184.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁸⁹ Josef Freiherr v.E. (1813-71), ungarischer Dichter, Staatsmann, Romanschreiber und Denker, lebte 1848-51 in München. Weiteres über dessen Verhältnis zu F. in Franz Babinger, "Fragmentistenbriefe," *Schlern* II, 182 f.—Der hier erwähnte Artikel erschien im *Deutschen Museum* II, 1 (1852); G.W. II, 195-211.

Artikel mündlich u copiert liegt zum Versenden bereit. Es ist die letzte Arbeit dieser Gattung u es soll weder zu ihrer Vertheidigung noch zu ihrer Entschuldigung auch nur ein einziges Wörtlein folgen, weil, wie ich höre, *auctorita mea atque gratia apud te fere nulla est*.

Ist das Elaborat erträglich u wollen Sie für Ungarn einige Rücksicht haben, werde ich für die Aufnahme dankbar seyn. Ist es aber ebenfalls schlecht u langweilig wie die letztgelieferten, so geschehe Ihr Belieben u ich überlasse es mit der größten Gleichgültigkeit dem wohlverdienten Loose.

In Prescott las ich neulich: "*Cortes had to learn, that the gratitude of a Court has reference to the future much more than to the past.*" Vale.

Your faithful

Fallmerayer⁹⁰

Was Kolb nun in dieser Periode Fallmerayer zur Selbstkritik an den eigenen Schriften empfiehlt, erhellt aus folgenden:

München, 21 Jan. 1852.

Verehrter Freund,

Warum ich die beiliegende *Pièce*⁹¹ nicht anzeigen wollte u konnte wird Hr. Friese mündlich gerechtfertigt haben.

Aus Gründen, die Sie wohl selber fühlen, habe ich dem Autor gerathen das unbestreitbare u entschiedene Schreiber-Talent des Hn. Hauptredakteurs in sein Interesse zu ziehen.

Der Gedanke "ob die Phrase auch annehmbar ist u nach keiner Seite hin verletzt," lähmt die Schwingen, erstickt alle Energie u seit gestern zweifle ich sogar an der Möglichkeit einen politischen Artikel "Die Lage,"⁹² womit ich mich eben beschäftige, unterzubringen. Selbst die *familiares* geben wenig Hoffnung u die Arbeit selbst scheint matt, breit, schwammig u wässrig. Wahrscheinlich werfe ich das bereits Geschriebene in den Korb u möglich wäre es sogar daß ich mein aufgestapeltes Damascus-Material von plötzlicher Desperation getrieben in Damascus selbst für die A.Z. frisch u neuhergestellt in Form bringe. Es regt sich wieder so etwas wie eine Wanderlust; Leere u Langeweile treiben mich aus einem Lande, wo der Credit eine R.s⁹³ täglich steigt u alle Allianzen in Vergessenheit verfallen.

Your faithful Fallmerayer⁹⁴

Dieser Brief bildet so recht den Auftakt zu einem trüben Jahre, denn Augsburg nimmt 1852 nur einen Artikel an. Durch Heyck⁹⁵ hören wir von einem Schreiben Fallmerayers an Cotta aus folgendem Jahr, am 13. Januar 1853, worin es heißt, "er habe eine Behandlung von seiten der geehrten Redaktion seit anderthalb Jahren erdulden müssen, von der er lieber nichts weiter sagen wolle, da Geschehenes nicht zu ändern sei, aber damit gehe seine langjährige Verbindung

⁹⁰ Chronologisch gehört hierher ein nicht aufgenommener Brief unserer Reihe vom 21.1.1852 an Kolb.

⁹¹ Erst die ungedruckten Teile der Tagebücher im Ferdinandeum zu Innsbruck geben wohl Aufklärung darüber.

⁹² Erschien 18., 19. Februar 1852 in der Innsbrucker Zeitung. G.W. II, 180 f. Cf. *Schriften* II, 350: Mittwoch 25. Februar. Die "Lage" hat der Innsbrucker Zeitung eine zweite schriftliche Verwahrung durch das Landes-Präsidium zugezogen; großer Verdruß! auch dieser Weg meiner publicistischen Thätigkeit abgeschnitten.

⁹³ Ringseis.

⁹⁴ Hier nicht aufgenommen ein Brief an Kolb vom 11.6.1852.

⁹⁵ *Op. cit.*, 235.

mit der A.Z. nun eben zu Ende." Tatsache ist, wie Heyck bemerkt, daß Fallmerayers weitere Aufsätze zur Tagesgeschichte von der Wiener "Donau" gebracht wurden.

IV

Waren 1852 und der Anfang des folgenden Jahres eine Periode der Niedergeschlagenheit, so tritt doch Ende März 1853 eine Wendung ein. Die A.A.Z. bringt im Zusammenhang mit dem Krimkrieg lange Zitate aus F's *Fragmenten* und der Verleger Oldenburg, Geschäftsführer und Teilhaber der Cotta'schen Literar-artistischen Anstalt in München, bittet ihn, die Stimme "*in rebus Byzantinis*"⁹⁶ zu erheben. Schon 1838-40 hatte Fallmerayer Rußlands Verhältnis zu Europa in viel weiteren Zusammenhängen als seine Zeitgenossen, in dem Kampf zwischen der religiösen Eigenart des Slawentums und des Germanentums, gesehen. Er fragt: "Wie darf man auch zweifeln, daß der Schlüssel zur Lösung des größten Problems unserer Zeit nördlich vom Schwarzen Meer zu suchen sei?"⁹⁷ und findet "in diesem russischen, von innen heraus langsam anwachsenden Kirchenkolöß etwas Unabwendbares."⁹⁸ In den späteren Jahren seines Lebens hat F., nach Seidler, "die Balkanpolitik Rußlands in 19. Jahrhundert klar und richtig gesehen."⁹⁹ Bei der Trennung zwischen Volk und Fürsten in Deutschland werfen sich letztere dem Koloß in die Arme. Daher seine Teilnahme am Krimkrieg. Anfang April 1853 ist F. in Augsburg,¹⁰⁰ und acht Tage später bringt die A.A.Z. den Artikel, "Die Schlacht bei Kulm. Oder vier Tage aus dem Leben des Grafen Ostermann," wofür Fallmerayer seinen Dank äußert in dem ersten der hier folgenden Briefe, die alle mit der türkisch-russischen Sache zu tun haben:

München 23 April 1853

Verehrter Freund,

Für die brillante Wiedereinführung in das Publicum der A.Z. kann ich nicht genug dankbar seyn.

Cicero in diesem Falle Sie *Deus ac parens* genannt—u zwar mit vollem Rechte, weil es wahrhaft eine Wiedererweckung vom Tode ist, dessen Fesseln mich über Jahr u Tag gefangen hielten. Sollen meine wohlwollenden *Patronestes* in der Sache etwas hinzugedacht haben, werde ich seiner Zeit persönlich dankbar seyn.—Seit bald 14 Tagen sind die lästigen *Academica*¹⁰¹ vom Halse; Regen, Verdrießlichkeiten, Melancholie u Todesfälle in Tirol haben mich in der Zwischenzeit noch nicht zu Ruhe u Arbeit kommen lassen. Es gährt chaotisch wie ein

⁹⁶ *Schriften* II, 351 f.

⁹⁷ G.A. VI (1838), Nr. 31, 250; cf. Seidler 53-54.

⁹⁸ G.W. II, 166.

⁹⁹ Seidler 99, 100.

¹⁰⁰ *Schriften* II, 352: 3. April 1853 (Augsburg) . . . Besuche, *diners* und *soupers sine fine*; mit der A.Ztg. völlig ausgesöhnt, *auctoritate atque gratia valeo uti antiquitus*; Culm-Ostermann-Fragment *summa voluntate* angenommen: es sei ein Cabinetstück aus meiner besten Zeit.

¹⁰¹ "Das Tote Meer." Abh. der Hist. Klasse der Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. VII, 1.Abt. 39-144; G.W. II, 173-238.

Vulcan in meiner Brust, u die fatale Depesche aus Cstpl¹⁰² hat den besten Gedanken des Vorwortes,¹⁰³ das Sie in Beilage zu beliebigem Gebrauche erhalten, amortisiert u quasi todt zur Welt gebracht.

Wie ich ruhiger bin, soll die Localbeschreibung Cstpls beginnen, kurz u bündig, ob ich gleich wenig oder gar keinen Antrieb finde ohne Grundlage neuer Thatsachen über einen von mir schon längst, von den anderen Leuten aber eben jetzt soviel besprochenen Gegenstand *denuo* zu radotiren. Jetzt soll einer in Cstpl seyn u zwar im Hause eines Großmachtgesandten,¹⁰⁴ wie ich es A. 1847 gewesen bin. Bei etwas mehr Muth u ehrgeizigem Streben würden Sie die nächste Sendung wahrscheinlich vom Bosphorus erhalten. Was ich jetzt thun werde, ist gewiß. Vielleicht denkt Bruck an mich. Warum nur zwei meiner besten Freunde u Gönner bei der Internunciatur nicht gestorben!

Your faithful

Fallmerayer¹⁰⁵

N.B. Können Sie die kleine Schreiberei ihres geringen Belanges wegen nicht verwenden, lassen Sie das arme Ding in einem Winkel liegen, bis ich es im Mai selber hole.

München, 22 Juni 1853

Geehrtester Freund,

Ihr gestriges hat mich vor großen Sorgen u Ängsten befreit u Sie glauben kaum wie dankbar ich für Ihre nachsichtsvolle Güte bin.

Schon die Aufnahme des Schleidenschens¹⁰⁶ Artikels, an dessen Fassung u *Canevas* der meinige ein wenig hinstreift, hat stille Hoffnung erregt, die nun zur erquickenden Wirklichkeit werden will.

Die anti-türkischen Noten werden wie allzeit eine dem Leser nicht weniger als dem Verfasser angenehme Ergänzung seyn, vorausgesetzt, daß sie von dem geistvollen Chef-redakteur des Blattes selber kommen.

Die Türken sind heute nicht mehr was sie Anno 1828 gewesen sind; sie sind heute ein Theil des Occidents, durchsäuert, durchdrungen, verwachsen mit der gemeinsamen Staaten-Ökonomie der Alten Welt, u wer heute den Padischah attackiert, hat dem gesammten Abendlande Fehdehandschuh hingeworfen, während A. 1828 alle Welt dem Czaren Beifall rief u über seine ärmlichen Leistungen betroffen war.

Ihr türkischer Capitain u ihr h- Correspondent aus Paris, scheint mir, sehen die Sache nicht von der rechten Seite an u hoffentlich gilt es auch bei Ihnen als ein Vortheil, daß ich keinem der beiden gegnerischen Potentaten—Czar oder Sultan—verpfändet bin u allzeit nach den Eingebungen u Überzeugungen des Augenblicks reden kann.

Haben es Czar u Sultan nach Ihrer freundlichen Bemerkung gut bei mir, so müßte es die Allgemeine Zeitung, die für mich mächtiger als die beiden genannten ist, natürlich noch weit besser haben, wenn sich nur auch eine Möglichkeit seine Gesinnungen zu bethätigen denken ließe. An redlichem Bemühen sollte

¹⁰² Cstpl: Constantinopel.

¹⁰³ "Konstantinopel und seine Umgebungen." A.A.Z. 122 H, 141, 142, 178 (1853); G.W. I, 1 f.

¹⁰⁴ Graf Stürmer (1787-1863), österreichischer Internuntius in Konstantinopel, mit dem F. 1847 täglich dort verkehrte.

¹⁰⁵ Hier nicht aufgenommen ein Brief vom 12. Mai 1853 an Kolb über F's Schwierigkeiten mit dem im Erscheinen begriffenen Artikel über Konstantinopel.

¹⁰⁶ Rudolf Schleiden (1815-95) war Jurist, der, bei der Zollgrenzregulierung Holsteins tätig, nach der Erhebung der Herzogtümer 1848 von der provisorischen Regierung in das Vorparlament nach Frankfurt, dann als deren Agent nach Berlin gesandt wurde. Der hier erwähnte Artikel müßte wohl mit der türkisch-russischen Krise zu tun haben. Schleidens anonyme Schrift "Das staatsrechtliche Verhältnis der Herzogtümer Schleswig-Holstein" war schon 1849 in Hamburg erschienen.

es da nicht fehlen. Nur wenig Ihrer Correspondenten sind der Allg. Zeitung soviel schuldig wie der arme Fragmentist. Schleiden hat auch in diesem Punkte eine große Wahrheit anerkannt. Die A.Z. ist eine große u gefährliche Macht.

Ich werde u kann es nie vergessen, daß meine *gloriola, qualis- et quantacunque sit*, nur auf diesem Wege u zwar durch Ihre Begünstigung meiner Lucubrationen errungen wurde u fortwährend lebendig erhalten wird.

Sollten Blüthe u Frucht bei mir über kurz lang auch vorüber seyn, so ist doch *animus gratus* u das Andenken an vereintes Mühsal permanent.

Eben liegt ein Artikel "Zur byzantinischen Literatur,"¹⁰⁷ veranlaßt durch eine *Pièce* der kais. Academie, in fünf enggeschriebenen Quartseiten druckfähig vor mir, u wird etwa morgen zu beliebigem Verfahren hinüberkommen. Sobald No. IV¹⁰⁸ erschienen ist (*primo loco, quelle gloire!*), werde ich mit verjüngter Kraft u mit frischem Muthe zum Schluß eilen u No. V noch vor der Ferien-Tour zu Stande bringen. *Vale*.

Your faithful

Fallmerayer

München 6 Juli 1853

Verehrtester Freund,

Dieses Mal ist alles nach Wunsch gegangen u ich kann für die kluge u ehrenvolle Wendung, die Sie der Sache zu geben die Freundlichkeit hatten, nur auf das Höflichste danken. Der Artikel selbst hat hier ungetheilten Beifall erhalten u den Credit des armen Fragmentisten wieder vollkommen hergestellt wo nicht gar noch bedeutend erhöht.

Die Neider u Schürer sind kleinlaut und ganz verstummt, u es werden hier sehr feine u geistreiche Bemerkungen über den Bau des Analekten-Artikels¹⁰⁷ sowie über die große Macht der Allg. Ztg. den Leuten wohl u wehe zu thun gefällt.

Wie die beiden noch restirenden Bogen des "Todten Meeres"¹⁰¹ die Presse verlassen haben, werde ich auf einige Tage nach Augsburg hinüber kommen, um die liebenswürdigen und geistreichen *Patronestes* zu besuchen u mit der geehrten Redaktion alles auf das Freundlichste u hoffentlich Dauerhafteste zu regulieren.

Instat magna earum commentatio und glücklicher Weise ist mit der steigenden physischen Kraft auch die Arbeitslust aufs neue erwacht.

Durch den letzten Act hat sich die Redaktion einen sehr anhänglichen, fleißigen u so Gott will nicht ganz unfähigen u nutzlosen Verbündeten neuerdings auf das engste verpflichtet.

Über den Russenkrieg 1828 habe ich seit den Journalen jener Epoche nichts mehr gelesen u das Gedächtnis scheint mir wirklich in dem einen oder dem anderen Punkte untreu geworden zu seyn.

Varna ging erst nachdem der Czar mit seinen Gardien über die Donau zurückgegangen u der Feldzug soviel als geschlossen war, wider alles Erwarten durch Verrath an die Russen über, u soviel ich mich noch erinnern kann, ist von der decimierten Hauptarmee der Russen auf der bulgarischen Donauseite nichts im Winterquartier geblieben u die Berennung von Silistria selbst am linken Donauufer verlassen worden.

Anno 1841 hat man es mir an Ort u Stelle selbst erzählt u zugleich die höchst ungeschickt angelegten Böschungen des russischen Belagerungsheeres gezeigt.

Auch habe ich im abgekürzten Artikel IV¹⁰⁸ nicht auf die Bemerkungen und Randglossen der Redaktion zur Schlacht bei Kulm,¹⁰⁰ sondern auf die Entgegnung des Commandanten von Wittenberge u auf die höchst beleidigenden

¹⁰⁷ "Müller, *Byzantinische Analekten*," A.A.Z. 185 (4.7.1853).

¹⁰⁸ Vierter Teil des Aufsatzes "Konstantinopel und seine Umgebungen." A.A.Z. B 178 (27.6.1853). Ein fünfter Teil scheint nicht mehr zustande gekommen zu sein.

Glossen Neumann's¹⁰⁶ und andere dahier mündlich vernommenen Critiken angepielt.

Neumann hatte die patriotische Freundlichkeit mich als bezahlten Spion u Russenfreund in der Stadt herumzutragen. Auf die *Analekten*¹⁰⁷ hin ist er aber wieder ganz versöhnt u hat mich dann seines schwer zu erringenden Beifalls, wie er es nennt, aufs geneigteste versichert.

Man fordert mich hier geradezu auf, dem neidischen u aufgedunsenen Fant eines zu versetzen. Eine Phrase, eine Zeile, meint man, reiche hin zum "Zerplatzen der Seifenblase." Des Neides und der Bosheit des Mannes ungeachtet ist das Mitleiden bei mir doch größer als der Zorn u ich will soviel als möglich mit den Leuten im Frieden leben. *Vale*.

your faithful

Fallmerayer¹⁰⁸

V

Trotz der vielen Hindernisse, die sich der Unterbringung eigener Artikel in den Weg legen, ergreift Fallmerayer manchmal das Wort zugunsten noch unbekannter oder wenig bekannter Schriftsteller. Darunter war damals Friedrich Bodenstedt, seit 1854 Professor der slawischen Sprachen in München, von dem Heyck schreibt: "Friedrich Bodenstedt begann 1854 aus München fleißig zu korrespondieren und Aufsätze zu senden."¹¹⁰ Aus folgenden Briefen läßt sich entnehmen, daß Fallmerayer, der sich in diesem Jahr mit Bodenstedts Schriften beschäftigt, der Vermittler gewesen:

München, 30 Mai 1854

Verehrter Freund,

Der König wundert sich, daß von Frieder. Bodenstedt in den öffentlichen Blättern Süd Deutschlands bisher soviel als nichts zu lesen war. . . Hr. Bodenstedt hat mir alle seine *Opera* zur Durchsicht gegeben u gebeten, ich möchte seinem *Protector* u ihm selbst die Genugthuung einer Besprechung in der A.A.Z. verschaffen.

Das hier anfolgende MSC.¹¹¹ hat Hr. Bodenstedt durchgesehen, verbessert u ganz so eingerichtet wie es dem Zweck entsprechen will. Die Striche u Weglassungen sind doch deutlich zu sehen und ich wage zu hoffen, daß auch von Seite der geehrten Redaktion keine erheblichen Bedenken erhoben werden. *Vale*.

Yours for ever

Fallmerayer¹¹²

Gesundheit, Laune u Aussichten kaum mittelmäßig. Trübe Zeit!!!

München, 15. Juli 1854

Verehrter Freund,

Den Ehrenposten hat der Bodenstedt-Artikel zwar erhalten, die Verstümmelungen jedoch waren dieses Mal so schlimm u entmuthigend, daß einem beinahe jede Lust der Wiederkehr vergehen möchte. Wenn Sie doch nur das Citat aus *Corneille's Cinna* u die Schlußperiode gelassen hätten!

¹⁰⁶ Briefe vom 5. und 31. Januar, 28. Februar und 30. März 1854 an die Expedition der A.A.Z. bitten um Rücksendung von Manuskripten verschiedener Artikel, die 1854 dort erschienen sind.

¹¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, 236.

¹¹¹ "Friedrich von Bodenstedt, *Zur Vermittlung von Morgen- und Abendland*." A.A.Z. B 160 (9.6.1854).

¹¹² Nicht aufgenommen: An die Expedition der A.A.Z. (10.6.1854): bittet um Rücksendung des Artikels "Friedrich Bodenstedt."

Kertbeny¹¹³ hat aus Pesth einen 5½ Quartseiten langen Artikel "Schriftstellerunterstützung in Ungarn" mit der Bitte hierhergeschickt für unhonorirte Aufnahme dieser Arbeit in die Spalten der A.Z. nach Kraft u. Vermögen mitzuwirken.

Morgen geht das *Corpus delicti* ohne weitere Begleitung nach Augsburg ab u. statt irgend ein nutzloses Wort zu seiner Empfehlung zu verlieren, bitte ich nur um gefällige Retoursendung, wenn es verurtheilt werden soll.

Yours for ever

Fallmerayer

N.B. Bei der Expedition weiß man schon, daß ich Sommerstraße No. 9 wohne.

Den wertvollsten Brief aus dem Jahre 1854 hat F. Babinger schon 1921 im *Schlern* mitgeteilt.¹¹⁴ Darin erfahren wir u.a., daß Kolb 1854 lange krank gewesen, und dessen Stellvertreter sich Fallmerayer gegenüber besonders wohlwollend gezeigt hat, denn im Ganzen hat die A.A.Z. fünf Besprechungen angenommen.¹¹⁵ Trotzdem hegt F. immer noch den Verdacht, daß Cotta die Quelle aller ihm erwiesenen Ungunst sei:

Aus dem Begleitschreiben . . . haben Sie gewiß erfahren, daß ich der unmotivierten Abneigung des Herrn Cotta gegen meine Diatriben und zugleich der allseitigen Plackereien endlich müde, das seit 15 Jahren fleißig betriebene Geschäft fallen zu lassen gesonnen bin. Doch soll der Rückzug langsam seyn und die Streitmacht wie unbemerkt hinter den Coulissen verschwinden.¹¹⁶

Schon die Tatsache, daß der Freiherr von Eötvös Fallmerayer um eine Anzeige von Gobineaus "Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines" bittet, beweist, "daß mich Herr v. Cotta und sein Alter-Ego ohne Grund verfolgen." Diese Einstellung schleppt sich weiter in das Jahr 1855-56 hinein, von dem hier nicht aufgenommene Briefe mit dem Gedanken schließen:

Ich beginne allmählig der eigenen Kraft zu mißtrauen u. das Mißverhältnis meiner Art zu denken u. zu schreiben im Gegensatz zu den politischen Nothwendigkeiten der Gegenwart immer deutlicher zu erkennen. Eine Reform ist in meinem Alter kaum mehr zu erwarten; es wird also nichts mehr übrig bleiben als nach und nach den Rückzug anzutreten u. den Verlegenheiten der geehrten Redaktion durch Stillschweigen ein Ende zu bereiten. . .¹¹⁶

VI

Der Ausklang zu den schon seit Mitte 1855 immer mehr erkal tenden Beziehungen zwischen Fallmerayer und Kolb findet sich, was diese Briefreihe anbetrifft, in zwei Schreiben an Friedrich Röth in der Expedition der A.A.Z.¹¹⁷ Zu dem darin erwähnten Artikel: "Bericht über eine Eisenbahn von Saloniki nach Belgrad durch Dr.

¹¹³ Kertbeny, eigentlich Karl Maria Benkert (1824-1882), war deutsch-ungarischer Schriftsteller.

¹¹⁴ *Schlern* II, 181. An Kolb, 23.11.1854.

¹¹⁵ Seidler 149.

¹¹⁶ Vom 27.5.1856.—Außerdem sind hier nicht aufgenommen: Briefe vom 2.1.1855 an die Expedition der A.A.Z., vom 8.7.1855, 7.1., 27.5.1856, 14.1.1859 (zum letzten Mal mit der Anrede: Verehrter Freund) und 3.8.1860, alle an Kolb.

¹¹⁷ Vom 20.2 und 22.2.1861.

J. G. Hahn," der nach längerer Zögerung angenommen wurde,¹¹⁸ hat Kolb eine Anmerkung hinzugefügt, woraus ein sinnloser und bitterer Streit in den Spalten der A.A.Z. und der Süddeutschen Zeitung entstand. Nachdem Fallmerayer gegen den eignen ersten Vorsatz doch eine Duplik gegen Kolb gebracht hat, setzt fast sofort die übliche Reue ein: "Dienstag 19. März . . . Die Duplik gegen Dr. Kolb ist im gestrigen Abendblatt der Süd-deutschen Zeitung erschienen, wird aber von den besten Freunden und Tischgenossen als unhöflich, beleidigend u.—grob verurtheilt, was mir Gram und Gewissensbisse der derbsten Art verursacht und selbst den Appetit genommen hat. . . ." ¹¹⁹ Am selben Tage schreibt aus Tübingen an Cotta ein Protegé desselben, Albert Schäffle: "Kolb contra Fallmerayer gehört vollends zur Zeit. Beide sind alt und lassen Haare. Ich mußte lachen. Was mag das im Salon: Madame Kolb—Allg. Ztg. Emotion gemacht haben." ¹²⁰ Im Laufe des folgenden Monats, wie wir aus dem Tagebuch erfahren, hat die A.A.Z. durch drei Gesandtschaften einzulenken versucht: "ich möchte nicht austreten, möchte wieder schreiben, man erkenne, daß Kolb Unrecht habe. . . ." ¹²¹ Daß der Versuch, eine Versöhnung herbeizuführen, nicht ohne Kolbs Wissen geschah, ist kaum zu bezweifeln. Denn mit der Nachricht von Fallmerayers Tod am 26. April 1861 brachte die A.A.Z. Folgendes:

Wir schließen uns der aufrichtigen Trauer um den Toten an, von dem zwar in der letzten Zeit ein unglücklicher Zwist uns trennte, der aber nicht vermögend war, zwanzig Jahre der Freundschaft und der Hochachtung uns vergessen zu lassen. Wir werden sein Andenken nur um so heiliger halten, je mehr es uns betrübt hat, diese Verbindung zuletzt so zerrissen zu sehen.¹²²

Ohne Zweifel ist Fallmerayer dem Kolb ein besonders schwieriger Beiträger gewesen, denn die mittlere Linie zwischen links und rechts, die der Schriftleiter innezuhalten hatte, gehörte zur altherwürdigen Tradition der Zeitung. An einer nie abgeschickten Stelle eines Briefes an Johann Christian Frhn. v. Zedlitz setzt Georg Cotta am 9. April 1847 ein Credo auf, das die Redakteure sich wohl zu Gemüte geführt haben:

Mein seliger Vater hatte die Ansicht, daß die A.Z. nie leitende Artikel, die von der Redaktion ausgehen, geben dürfe, er bezeichnete im Gegenteil ihre Linie als eine solche, die jede ausgesprochene Farbe seitens der Redaktion ausschließen müsse, um keiner Partei die Lust zu nehmen, sich in ihrem Namen auszusprechen. Ich glaube, diese Ansicht ist auch heute noch die allein richtige, weil es sich von [*sic*] einer deutschen und nicht von einer französischen oder englischen Zeitung handelt und zumal von einer, die den Titel "Allgemeine" an der Stirn trägt.¹²³

¹¹⁸ "Über die Erbauung einer Eisenbahn von Belgrad nach Saloniki. Bericht durch Herrn von Hahn." A.A.Z. B 61 (2.3.1861) und B 62 (3.3.1861).

¹¹⁹ *Schriften* II, 364-65.

¹²⁰ Cotta III, 257.

¹²¹ *Schriften* II, 365 (14. April 1861).

¹²² A.A.Z. (27.4.1861). Zitiert nach *Schlern* II, 165, Anm. 2.

¹²³ Cotta III, 272.

Wie oft aber fühlt sich Fallmerayer nach 1848 als Mitglied einer verstoßenen Partei, die nirgends mehr, selbst in der A.A.Z., zu Worte kommen kann? Und er war schließlich nicht der einzige, der sich nicht in den Rahmen dieses journalistischen Ideals zu passen wußte. Auch Heinrich Heine, etwa 1840, konnte nicht umhin zu schreiben: "Verstümmelt hat Kolb sie abgedruckt / In der Allgemeinen Zeitung."¹²⁴ Heyck, dem Chronisten der A.A.Z., der diese Verse zitiert, ist jedoch eine andere, viel gerechtere Äußerung Heines über Kolb aus dem Jahre 1854 entgangen. An einer Stelle der *Lutesia*, wo er einen unterdrückten Bericht vom 3. Juni 1840 zusammen mit einer "Späteren Notiz" einsetzt, äußert Heine die Meinung, daß politische Schriftsteller lieber nicht in "obsuren Winkelblättern" ihr ganzes Herz ausschütten sollen:

Wir handeln weit klüger, wenn wir unsere Glut mäßigen, und mit nüchternen Worten, wo nicht gar unter einer Maske, in einer Zeitung uns aussprechen, die mit Recht eine Allgemeine Weltzeitung genannt wird, und vielen hunderttausend Lesern in allen Landen belehrsam zu Händen kommt. . . . Beseelte mich nicht dieser Gedanke, so hätte ich mir wahrlich nie die Selbsttortur angetan, für die "Allgemeine Zeitung" zu schreiben. Da ich von dem Treusinn und der Redlichkeit jenes innigst geliebten Jugendfreundes und Waffenbruders, der die Redaktion der Zeitung leitet, zu jeder Zeit überzeugt war, so konnte ich mir auch wohl manche erschreckliche Nachqual der Umarbeitung und Verballhornung meiner Artikel gefallen lassen;—sah ich doch immer die ehrlichen Augen des Freundes, welcher dem Verwundeten zu sagen schien: liege ich denn etwa auf Rosen?¹²⁵

Wo es aber nur um Literarisches ging, gewann man eher, wie Levin Schücking, der 1843-45 an der Zeitung tätig war, ein abgerundetes Bild vom Menschen Kolb. Er nennt Kolb reizbar, kapriziös, eine Natur, "die nicht leicht zu durchschauen war." Aber er hatte Humor und Anspruchslosigkeit:

Es war keine Spur von Überhebung oder eitlen Größenwahn in dem mächtigsten und einflußreichsten Journalisten des damaligen Deutschlands. Er hat seine Stellung nie zu dem allergeringsten persönlichen Vorteile ausgebeutet; er hat nur wie ein geduldiger Kreuzträger alle Widerwärtigkeiten . . . ganz allein auf seine überbürdeten Schultern genommen. Der liebenswürdigste Zug in Kolb war seine geistige Elastizität. Die geistverwüstende Redakteurtätigkeit . . . hatte ihm nichts von seiner Herzenswärme und von seinem immer regen und lebendigen Interesse für alles Gute und Schöne genommen; es war wie eine ewige Jugend in ihm.¹²⁶

Warum aber hat der Verlag Cotta in allen historischen Rückblicken Fallmerayer, der trotz allem der Freund Kolbs geblieben ist, sogut wie totgeschwiegen? Heyck widmet ihm kaum eine Seite in der Festschrift vom Jahre 1898 über die A.A.Z. Die *Cotta-Briefe*¹²⁷ bringen keinen einzigen von des Fragmentisten Schreiben an Georg Cotta, trotzdem wir aus Heycks Darstellung ersehen, daß es solche

¹²⁴ Heyck 193.

¹²⁵ Heines Werke (Bong & Co. Berlin, o.J.), XIII, 70-71.

¹²⁶ Lebenserinnerungen. Zitiert von Heyck 154.

¹²⁷ Cotta II (1927); III (1934).

gegeben haben muß,¹²⁸ und womöglich noch gibt. Eher verständlich ist das Fehlen seines Namens in dem *Cotta Almanach* vom Jahre 1938, der auf knappem Raum einen Überblick über "280 Jahre Verlag" bringt, wie der Nebentitel es verspricht. Da darf ja nicht viel Licht auf einen Liberalen Anno 1848 fallen, wo es vor allem eine stark betonte Verherrlichung der kurzen Strecke 1933-38 gilt. In diesem Verlag sind aber, ganz abgesehen von der publizistischen Tätigkeit für die A.A.Z., die beiden wichtigsten Werke Fallmerayers erschienen: aus den Jahren 1830 und 1836 das zweibändige Werk *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters* und die *Fragmente aus dem Orient* in zwei Bänden, 1845, ein Werk, durch dessen Popularität sein Verfasser den Beinamen "Fragmentist" erhielt und in die Reihe der großen Essayisten des 19. Jahrhunderts eintrat. Mit obigen Briefen ist das Verhältnis zu Kolb aufgeklärt. Was nun die Beziehung zu Cotta anbetrifft, so ist zu hoffen, daß der Verlag Cotta, in dessen Archiv sich insgesamt sechzehn Briefe von Fallmerayers Hand befinden sollen,¹²⁹ diese bald zugänglich machen wird.

Bryn Mawr College

¹²⁸ Cf. *supra* III. Professor Fr. Babinger schreibt mir aus München: "F's Beziehungen zu Kolb und zu Cotta habe ich seinerzeit selbst zu ergründen versucht, habe aber, als mir J. C. Cotta in Stuttgart mitteilten, daß die Briefe F's an den Verlag im zweiten Bande der Cotta-Briefe erscheinen werden, davon Abstand genommen."

¹²⁹ Aus einer noch unveröffentlichten Reihe: *Briefe Fallmerayers aus den Jahren 1815-1835* von dem Herausgeber, Dr. Arnulf Kollautz, im Februar 1950 freundlichst mitgeteilt. Darunter findet sich eine Abschrift des vermutlich ersten von F. an Johann Georg Freiherrn von Cotta gerichteten Brief aus dem Jahre 1834.

THE LITERARY WORK OF ALBRECHT HAUSHOFER

BY A. E. ZUCKER

Albrecht Haushofer was born in Munich, January 7, 1903, the son of Karl Haushofer, the notorious geopolitician. He was only twenty-one years of age when he took his doctor's degree *summa cum laude* in the fields of geography and history at the University of Munich. He traveled extensively through all of Europe, Central Asia, and North and South America. At the age of twenty-four he became general secretary of the *Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* and editor of the *Zeitschrift für Erdkunde*. He was appointed *Dozent* and later professor at the *Hochschule für Politik* which in 1940 was made part of the University of Berlin. His chief work, according to his student and biographer, Dr. Rainer Hildebrandt, is his *Systematik der Geopolitik*, soon to be published in Berlin. Dr. Hildebrandt writes concerning it: "Dieses Buch Albrecht Haushofers wird jedoch erst offenbaren, welcher bis ins letzte entwickelte Verstand, welch welt-politisches und scharfes Denken und welch umfassendes Wissen hier am Werk war."

In contrast to his father, he despised the Nazis and abhorred their works. From an influential position in the German Foreign Office he worked constantly for a peace that would prevent the total ruin of Europe. In his university lectures he demonstrated at the very height of Hitler's orgies of victory that the war was leading to disaster. He was in touch with the British Foreign Office in 1941 for peace *pourparlers*—which led to his first arrest. His complicity in the assassination attempt of July 20, 1944, led to his imprisonment and his death in April, 1945, on the very day Russian troops entered Berlin. The finding of his eighty sonnets clutched in his hand and their subsequent publication constitute practically the first news to reach this country concerning his literary activity.

Albrecht Haushofer also wrote five dramas. The first three were published in the Propyläen Verlag, Berlin, from 1934 to 1939, while the last two exist so far only in manuscript form. *Scipio*, *Sulla*, *Augustus*, and *Die Makedonen* are historical dramas of five acts in blank verse in the general tradition of Shakespeare, Schiller, Grillparzer, Kleist, and Hebbel, while *Chinesische Legende* is romantic in structure. The plays are finished in form, dramatic in action, with fine characterization, all embodying a large theme. In general he follows history very closely, though there are a few examples of poetic license. His style is extremely clear, uninvolved, forceful, with delightful poetic touches, local color very well developed, and not without humor. A philosophic element is found in each drama, voiced by characters who often figure as the author's mouthpiece.

As one can read Grillparzer's *Ottokar*, for example, with or without reference to Napoleon and his times, so Haushofer's plays can stand by themselves or they may be taken as *Schlüsseldramen* relating to contemporary history. In the following pages I shall attempt to give a conception of the literary work of a man who will surely be accorded a place in literary history.

The first of Haushofer's dramas is *Scipio*, published in 1934 when he was thirty-one years of age. The choice of the subject is very revealing regarding the author's attitude on the Germany of the early thirties, where for years an undeclared civil war had been fought between the Communists and the Nazis, where the agrarian question had been paramount, and where illegal acts on the part of political leaders of both groups were making obsolete the constitution, as well as law and order in general. The hero, Scipio Africanus the younger, is a man of moderate views who believed firmly in the old order, but who was yet willing to meet halfway the demands of the people and their tribunes for a more equitable division of the land. Consequently this upright, unselfish statesman was hated by both the radicals and the conservatives; the entire course of the play alternates between scenes in which Scipio opposes the conservatives and attempts to curb the radicals. He was murdered during the night before he was to deliver an important speech; history does not record by whom, and Haushofer leaves open the question whether the assassin belonged to the radical or the conservative side. Scipio, quite willing to die after having done all in his power to prevent civil war, disregards warnings of plots from both parties.

The play opens with a stern speech by Scipio on the occasion when he is giving an account of his office as censor. It is delivered before two angry groups, the senate party and the followers of Tiberius Gracchus, both of whom hate him for the manner in which he had administered his post, but who dare not speak up as Scipio repeatedly challenges: "Hat keiner Fragen über die Entscheidung?" (p. 8). In the face of the sullen, tense silence Scipio concludes:

Nehmt unser Opfer gnädig an, ihr Götter,
Und helft uns, daß wir unsern Staat bewahren. (p. 8)

This last, the prayer that the state might be preserved, was a deviation from the customary formula, "Und helft, dass wir des Staates Macht vermehren" (p. 9). Mommsen writes concerning these words,

Bis auf seine Zeit hatten die Censoren bei der Niederlegung ihres Amtes die Götter angerufen dem Staat größere Macht und Herrlichkeit zu verleihen; der Censor Scipio betete, daß sie geneigen möchten den Staat zu erhalten. Sein ganzen Glaubensbekenntnis liegt in dem schmerzlichen Ausruf.¹

Haushofer very significantly places this changed prayer as the keynote in the very first speech of the drama, for after Scipio came the

¹ Theodor Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte* (Berlin, 1881), II, 84.

age of lawless dictators. His friend Metillas sees the situation with equal clearness:

In zwei Parteien steht das Volk gerüstet:
Ihr seid der letzte, der's zusammenzwingt.
Wenn ihr aus Rom verschwindet, bricht es los.
Und niemand weiß, wo solche Kämpfe enden. (p. 31)

After Scipio's speech the followers of Tiberius set out to incite disorders, and the conservative party retaliates. Scipio must leave for Spain, as he is the only general capable of carrying to a successful conclusion the Numantian campaign. Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi and also of Scipio's wife, asks whether his departure from Rome is absolutely necessary, and Scipio replies with a thumbnail sketch of Roman history in a paradox:

Dein Vater ist nach Afrika gezogen,
Als Hannibal noch in Italien stand,
Und vor Karthago hat er Rom gerettet. (p. 54)

The wise daughter of the first Scipio Africanus points out that, unlike Scipio, her father had had behind him in Italy a friendly citizenry.

After Scipio's departure, matters rise speedily to a climax. Tiberius Gracchus proclaims his new laws by illegal means, and the senators answer this disregard of the constitution by violence. The third act concludes with the killing of Tiberius. After successfully restoring Roman power in Spain, Scipio returns in a last effort to save the state, but, despite his firm actions against both sides, goes down fighting for a lost cause.

The chief character is contrasted by Haushofer with numerous well-drawn minor characters who in turn all aid in rounding out the figure of Scipio. He appears the stern Roman general in the account of his friend Laelius, telling how Scipio had put down the mutiny in the army by personally stabbing to death in the face of his troops the loud-mouthed leader of the revolt. Polybius, the Greek historian who recognized Rome's greatness, exclaims on hearing this account: "Versteht ihr nun, daß Rom die Welt erobert?" (p. 83).

Historically Polybius was a friend of Scipio, and Haushofer makes this writer (whose works are one of the chief sources for the drama) the confidant of the hero, as the two discuss the world situation. When the news reaches these men in Spain that Tiberius Gracchus had illegally deposed a conservative tribune, Polybius asks, "Ist das Ernst?" to which Scipio replies in words that may be taken as Haushofer's own sentiments regarding similar acts by the Nazis in 1933:

Es ist ein Narrenstreich und Ernst zugleich!
Die meisten sogenannten ernstesten Zeiten
Beginnen damit, daß die Narren sich
Für eine Weile frei herumbewegen.

Das Erste, was man dann zu leisten hat,
Ist Narren einzufangen—totzuschlagen,
Wenn's anders nicht mehr geht. Und dann vielleicht
In Jahren aufzuräumen, was die Narren
In kurzen Tagen angerichtet haben. (p. 176 f.)

Polybius had been with Scipio also at the storming of Carthage and had seen the general weeping at the destruction of this city, which he had been forced by the senate to carry out against his own advice. Scipio believed, as he told his brother-in-law, the younger of the Gracchi, that it was proper that Tiberius had been put to death, though he disapproved of the way in which he had been killed, i.e., without due legal process. When Gaius argues that it had been not Tiberius but his followers who had committed excesses, Scipio replies in words that hold a meaning for all times and particularly for the Germany of 1934:

Dann magst du darin eine Schwäche sehn.
Doch solche Schwäche Gaius nennt man Schuld,
Wenn einer glaubt, ein Führer sein zu können. (p. 196)

In his final conversation with his friend Polybius, this most unselfish statesman of Roman times, as Mommsen calls him, sums up his fateful age:

Du weißt so gut wie ich,
Daß ich am Ende bin. Es ist geschehn,
Was noch geschehen konnte. Hinter mir
Liegt alles, was von unsern Ahnen kommt.
Ich hab' es noch ein letztes Mal gesammelt
Als Ordnung mir und anderen gesetzt—
Wenn du erfährst, daß ich gestorben bin,
Dann magst du auch die letzten Sätze schreiben
Und siegeln, was Du weißt. Was nach uns kommt,
Mißachtet Maß und Wissen und Gesetz
Und sucht nach neuem Weg in neuer Wirrnis. (p. 216)

In the siege of Numantia a young peasant soldier distinguishes himself by outstanding bravery and is promoted by Scipio—his name is Marius. The next play by Haushofer deals with the dictator who succeeded Marius, namely, *Sulla*, published in 1938. This drama opens with a drinking scene in the general's camp, with one of his captains sounding a note characteristic of the times:

Wir haben sieben Jahre Blut gesoffen
Und Wein dazwischen. Geht der Bürgerkrieg
Zu Ende bleibt uns nur der Wein. Zum Wohl! (p. 7)

Sulla, cold sober, joins the group and whimsically asks the orator Hortensius to pronounce a funeral oration, which Hortensius does, praising Sulla's deeds. Next the dictator calls on the actor Roscius to bare his arm and muss up his hair in imitation of Marius addressing the Roman mob in attacking his rival Sulla. There is very vivid

drama in this play within a play, recalling the actor's wild oration before Hamlet at Elsinore. Just as Roscius is reveling in his imitation of the plebeian Marius in impassioned speech, to the laughter and fascination of the group about Sulla, a messenger arrives announcing the death of Marius! Then comes news of an attack on Rome, and Sulla gives rapid orders to his generals. The first act presents Sulla as a skillful and courageous military leader, "a fox and a lion" as Plutarch tells us one of his enemies called him, and as a man of parts, but personally cold and utterly unscrupulous in his ambition to rule Rome as dictator.

In the second act Catiline and Caesar appear at the approaches to the capitol, the former stooping cringingly to gain Sulla's favor, while Caesar cockily refuses to be awed by the dictator's terror. Sulla cows the senate into awarding him dictatorial powers, while within earshot he causes thousands to be slaughtered. He humiliates Ofella, the victor of Praeneste, because, like a true despot, he cannot tolerate any hero other than himself. He also announces a list of proscribed whose property is to be sold at public auction. It is the ageless story of the dictator who announces, "Köpfe werden rollen."

The climax comes in the third act as Ofella, despite Sulla's warning, appears in the forum as candidate for the consulship, whereupon Sulla has him murdered on the spot. He then addresses the terrorized crowd:

Römer hört!

Wir werden jetzt ein Staatsbegräbnis halten.

Ich ehre Leistung, die vergangen ist.

Doch was den Tod Ofellas angeht, Römer—

Auf mein Geheiß ist er gerichtet worden;

Gerichtet, nicht erschlagen, weil er wagte,

Sich für die Wahl zum Konsulat zu stellen,

Obwohl es vom Gesetz verboten war.

Er stellte seinen Willen gegen meinen,

Der das Gesetz erließ. Er starb daran— (p. 143)

Then a voice from the crowd is heard—it is that of Julius Caesar: "Ist Sullas Wille das Gesetz der Welt?" (p. 144). A horrified silence follows, whereupon Sulla shrieks the command to arrest the man who had dared to speak thus. But it turns out that he cannot be discovered. This challenge shouted by one undaunted man in the face of Sulla's attainment of the dictatorship betrays dramatically the crack in his armor. Sulla shouts defiantly: "Dies war in Rom die letzte freie Wahl!" (p. 146), but as the curtain goes down on this speech no one believes in Sulla's absolute power.

The fourth act shows Sulla as ruler in Rome, where life has become extremely cheap. Crassus reports that 1,348 out of the 1,600 proscribed have already been put to death. When reports are brought to Sulla by Lucullus regarding the manner in which Crassus is enriching himself through the sale of the property of the proscribed, Sulla exclaims (an obvious allusion to Goering):

Sind seine Ziffern wahr, dann wäre Crassus
Der größte Räuber, der mir je begegnet,
Und ein Gesicht so rosig-rund— (p. 153)

It is characteristic that Sulla makes use of the services of the corrupt Catiline. He calls before him Julius Caesar with the intention of having the guard kill him in case he continues in his refusal to obey Sulla's wish that he divorce his wife, the daughter of one of Sulla's chief enemies. But, when Caesar calmly asserts his own will and appears utterly indifferent in the face of threats, Sulla orders not his death, but his banishment to Rhodes. As Caesar leaves, Sulla shows that informers have told him who the bold interrupter had been by shouting (but again we feel unconvinced): "Noch—ist mein Wille das Gesetz der Welt!" (p. 174). Caesar, who has been called the greatest statesman of antiquity, diagnoses the failure of rulers of the type of Sulla:

Wenn sie zu herrschen suchen schlägt es fehl,
Weil sie Kommando schon für Herrschaft halten. (p. 173)

In this play, too, Haushofer introduces a figure who might be considered the author's mouthpiece, namely, a Greek philosopher Zosias. In the final act Hortensius finds him reading the works of Plato, regarding whom Zosias says:

Er war zuerst wohl eine große Seele,
Um vieles größer als die Welt erträgt,
In der man leben muß. Deshalb mißlang
Ihm alles in der Welt der Wirklichkeiten.

* * * * *

Er hätte sich des Tuns enthalten müssen.
Das größte war, daß er das nicht ertrug.
Er starb als alter Mann und war doch nie
In seinem ganzen Leben alt geworden. (p. 175)

The philosopher continues the conversation in a different vein, namely, a keen poetic appreciation of the Italian landscape, comparing it with his home in Attica which the wars had destroyed. Then he adds:

Wenn ich den Göttern, falls es Götter gibt,
Für eines dankbar bin, dann ist es dies:
Daß mir die Gabe wurde, tief zu staunen. (p. 177)

The dictator demands of this philosopher that he train the Roman youth in the spirit of Sulla, but Zosias refuses. The end of the play finds Sulla—like another Macbeth—calling life, "Verlogen—hohl—und leer." He cannot command independent spirits like Caesar or the Greek philosopher who, indifferent to death, says:

Wenn einer leben soll,
Dann muß er Menschen oder Dinge haben,
Für die er sterben könnte. (p. 212)

The nephew of Julius Caesar is the chief character of Haushofer's concluding drama in his Roman trilogy—*Augustus*, published in 1939. He selects this figure (in the play he is called Octavian) as one of the world's indubitably great rulers and shows him possessing qualities of spirit which many dictators, including Hitler, obviously lacked. Octavian can show clemency, for he feels absolutely sure of himself:

Wer sich genötigt sieht nach außen stark
Und hart zu sein, der lebt aus seiner Schwäche.
Wer sich verlassen kann auf seine Kraft,
Der darf nach außen leicht und locker sein. (p. 77)

In the same scene he sets down what he considers the power that can rule a state; it is certainly not armaments and torchlight processions:

Wenn ihr die Schalen einer Waage füllt
Und alles in die eine Schale legt,
Was ihr an Macht und Glanz erfinden könnt,
Doch in die zweite diese Dreiheit senkt:
Gewohnheit, Überlieferung und Sitte—
So sinkt die zweite nieder. (p. 77)

The action of the drama turns about Octavian's conflict with Marc Antony, in which the latter's actions lead to war; Octavian is victorious and, after the death of Antony and Cleopatra, effects a peace of reconciliation with the Roman followers of Antony. There are repeated contrasts between the world of Rome and the Orient as it shows itself at Cleopatra's court—efficiency and self-respect over against despotism, servility, and treachery. There is also a marvelous speech by the intoxicated Antony to his Roman followers in Egypt in which he compares his dashing career, full of abandon in battle and love, to the virtuous, careful, sober course of Octavian (p. 138).

In association with Augustus we meet with many noble figures. There is his devoted, virtuous sister Octavia, his short-lived nephew Marcellus whom Augustus wished as his successor and whom Virgil celebrates in the sixth book of the *Æneid*, and Maecenas, the friend of the great poets of his age.

The play opens at Horace's country seat, where the poet raises his glass in a toast:

Gedenken wir des allerhöchsten Wohls!
Augustus Octavianus Caesar lebe! (p. 7)

His guests are Virgil and (somewhat anachronistically introduced as a bit of poetic license) Catullus. The dialogue is witty and characteristic of the three poets, particularly in the serious notes, as when Haushofer lets Virgil relate his age to the times of Scipio and Sulla:

Wir sind in diese Zeit hineingeboren.
 Ich weiß, wie tief in meine Kinderwelt
 Die Botschaft schlug von Sullas dunklem Tod,
 Und Sulla war ein Kind, als erste Wirbel
 Des blutgetränkten Schicksals unser Zeit
 Die Gracchen und den Sieger von Karthago
 Verschlungen.

Catullus

Scipio?

Vergilius

Den letzten Großen,
 Den ersten Wissenden der frühen Welt. (p. 13)

Haushofer, with his vast knowledge of history and his deep poetic feeling, is able to characterize and make living his gallery of dramatic personae. This is true even of the minor characters; for example, Cleopatra, on hearing of Marc Antony's death, exclaims in a profound aphorism:

Nur kleines Glück ist ohne große Trauer—
 Das große kennt als Bruder nur den Tod! (p. 183)

Grillparzer tells us that in his *Sappho*, to convince the reader that his heroine is a real poetess, he has her recite at the end of the first act one of her odes in Grillparzer's excellent translation. Somewhat similarly Haushofer at the opening of Act V has Octavia, Horace, and Virgil enter into a discussion of those who die young, and Octavia asks whether Virgil had not celebrated such a favorite of the gods in his poetry. Virgil then recites from the eleventh book of the *Æneid* the dirge of Æneas over the death of young Pallas, Evander's son—likewise a brilliant translation. The moment Virgil ends his recitation, Maecenas enters to bring the news of the death of Octavia's son Marcellus and is under the impression that Virgil had been reciting the funeral dirge for this youth. There is a general surprise, and the poet Virgil admits that he had felt a presentiment:

Die Stimmen haben mich daran gemahnt,
 Die manchmal mir in Traum erschienen sind.
 Ich wußte lang, daß er nicht altern würde.
 Die Stunde seines Abschieds—wußt' ich nicht. (p. 168)

Octavia decides that she will be the one to convey the news of his adopted son's death to Augustus. She finds him master of the world and is told by him:

Wir kehren heim und hängen unsre Waffen
 Nach hundert Jahren voller Krieg und Wirrmis
 Im Tempel auf. (p. 197)

The message is a heartbreaking blow to Augustus who feels that he has lost far more than he had won; the world seems to him to be turning to stone. Octavia ends the drama, much in the manner

in which many of Hebbel's plays end, with an allusion to a world-stirring event that marks a turning point in history:

Dann träumt vielleicht von einem neuen Leben
In junger Welt ein unbekannter Gott. (p. 198)

The group of German patriots who wished to put an end to the Nazi regime in the effort culminating in the assassination attempt, July 20, 1944, had come to the conclusion that the one effective means was to do away with Hitler, for the rivalry in the ranks of Goering, Goebbels, Himmler, Bormann, and the generals would cause the "Third Empire" to break up the moment the "Führer" was eliminated. With this in mind Haushofer in 1941, while in prison, wrote his fourth historical drama, *Die Makedonen*, with its setting in Babylon in the days just before and after Alexander's death. Alexander had built up a great empire which he hoped to make permanent through the bond of Greek culture, but immediately following his death wars broke out among his generals, and the empire fell apart in utmost confusion.

The opening scene sounds the dominant note of the drama: a violent brawl occurs at the city gate of Babylon between Persian guards and Macedonian troops who feel their superiority as conquerors. Actual fighting is prevented when high officers on both sides appear on the scene, but between the leaders there is no spirit of unity, only an armed truce. Not only the conflict between Persians and Macedonians, but also the discordant aims of Alexander's generals, who are strikingly individualized, make the collapse of Alexander's world empire inevitable. The great leader's death is imminent and causes plots and counterplots amidst great indecision, and the moment Alexander's death is announced open fighting breaks out among the generals, while the Persians and Indians revolt.

Alexander himself is not among the *dramatis personae*, but the greatness of his personality pervades every scene—reminding somewhat of Kleist's unfinished *Robert Guiscard*. This vibrant drama also contains numerous symbolic touches. Ambassadors from Rome and Carthage arrive at Alexander's court; Haushofer tellingly characterizes in these two men two rival aspirants to Alexander's scheme of world empire—and alludes to reasons why Carthage failed and Rome succeeded. Alexander's aged teacher, Aristotle, appears in a number of scenes and speaks, among many other wise words, a few lines characteristic of the philosopher whose ethical teachings centered in the "golden mean":

Als Alexander alles Maß verstieß
Da wußt ich, daß er sich zerstören werde—
Und nicht allein sich selbst. Wir alle werden
Durch seinen Tod verwandelt.

These words became appallingly true in 323 B.C. and equally so in Hitler's day!

In 1937 Albrecht Haushofer had traveled to China and Japan, receiving there the inspiration for a work embodying his life philosophy. The cosmopolitan versatility of his genius is made plain by *Chinesische Legende*, altogether different from his historical plays. It is a pleasant dream, far removed from the ghastly Nazi reality, its setting in the colorful Orient, with a lyric note pervading the twelve scenes and crowned with a happy ending. A perfidious ruler is replaced by an honorable, just regime through the efforts of a courageous censor and a beautiful young girl.

The Chinese local color is charming. The author introduces the most famous Chinese poet, Li Po, with melodious renderings of his lyrics. He makes use of a motif from the Yuan Dynasty drama, *Autumn in the House of Han*. But the chief note is a personal one, revealing the author's complex personality, torn between three aims. Haushofer was a poet, a lover of literature and music, of wine and the beauties of nature—this mood is embodied in the poet. He felt it his stern duty to warn and to correct the evils in the state—this is the role of the censor who risked his life by criticizing the ruler. His third desire was a life of contemplation (I have been told that in practical matters he was the typical helpless philosopher)—this aspect of his character is embodied in the monk who retires from the world, seeking the right way in all humility: "Wir wissen kaum die Schritte, nie den Weg!"

The crowning work of Albrecht Haushofer is, of course, the sonnets which he wrote in Moabit prison just before his death.²

University of Maryland

² Cf. the very able evaluation by Professor Blankenagel in the *German Quarterly*, XX (1947), 189 ff., of Albrecht Haushofer, *Moabiter Sonette* (Berlin: Lothar Blauvalet Verlag, 1946). The same firm has announced publication of *Chinesische Legende*.

HARTMANN'S "DER ARME HEINRICH" SOME EXPLICATIONS AND A THEORY

By DONALD A. MCKENZIE

Hartmann von Aue's *Der Arme Heinrich* is probably the most studied and best annotated work read by students of Middle High German. It has been admirably translated by scholarly men of letters. The cautious and definitive translation and elucidation by Saran¹ would seem to have settled all problems of meaning and intention in the poem. For the thoughtful student, however, problems of meaning which cannot be brushed aside or solved by recourse to traditional interpretation continue to arise.

Particularly, one finds in Hartmann's narrative a certain tone of gentle irony which at first seems out of keeping with his patently honest treatment of a highly serious and fairly traditional theme; and what is more intriguing is the fact that Hartmann's occasional whimsical smile in no way impugns his honesty or sincerity *vis-à-vis* a parable which he truly took to heart.

The pleasantly ironical touches which exist in the poem usually involve the element of contrast. One example is found in the enumeration, early in the work, of Heinrich's virtues. After some twenty lines which attribute to Heinrich the finest social and spiritual qualities, we read that he also: "sanc vil wol von minnen." When considered in context, must not this line be read as the author's sly but kindly judgment on himself and his fellow poets? And in the final line of this passage of encomium, "er was hübesch und dar zuo wîz," does not Hartmann imply that he is aware of the gap which may exist between *höveschheit* and *wisheit*?

Later in the poem are two passages which, if read carefully, tend to show that Hartmann was not content to tell, or to retell, his story "straight," as it were, but delighted in introducing certain personal overtones and implications which are not commonly noted. It will be recalled that, early in the poem, Hartmann portrays Heinrich sitting with the *bûman* and his wife at their work. After some thought, the *bûman* plucks up enough courage to ask Heinrich why, since there are so many fine physicians in Salerno, he has not been cured. Heinrich forthwith expatiates on the causes of his disease and recounts what he has learned at Salerno; and then, after almost forty lines of such explanation, Hartmann has Heinrich say, in effect: "And by the way, my good freeman, I am well aware that, although you have been so kind as to put up with me and although I am loved by no one but you and your family, you would still, I fancy, very gladly see me dead!" The irony lies obviously in the fact that,

¹ F. Saran, *Das Übersetzen aus dem Mittelhochdeutschen* (Halle, 1930).

in his response, Heinrich first and at considerable length treats the *bûman's* question as if it were a sincere expression of the latter's solicitude and then by a sudden turn shows that he has been aware all along that the *bûman's* curiosity has been inspired largely by self-interest.

The passage in which Heinrich is described as giving presents and ribbons and as showing especial kindness to the *bûman's* daughter, who is so devoted to him, invites an interpretation which, if correct, not only shows Hartmann to have been psychologically very astute, but adds much to the charm of the story. In spite of Saran's reference to Heinrich's attentions as mere "Gefälligkeiten," there is reason, we feel, for giving the passage a more specialized interpretation. Does not Hartmann imply here that Heinrich, exiled by his disease from the old courtly life, is continuing the gentle game of courtly love—with the simple farm girl as the object of his, at first, playful devotion? This must, to be sure, remain pure conjecture, and, indeed, the use of the term, *sîn gemahle*, may make our supposition untenable. On the other hand, this picture of the relationship between knight and maiden is so right psychologically and, from the purely human point of view, so inviting that it must merit consideration. Further, our interpretation is strengthened by Hartmann's knowledge and unconscious anticipation of the final outcome of the tale, in which Heinrich does take the maid as *sîn gemahle*. Finally, certain attributes of the maid which at first seem inconsistent with her humble origin become in the light of our explication completely understandable: for example, the use of *minneclîch* in line 1233: "Ir lip der was vil minneclîch." This word Saran (with Schröder) rejected as "zu hoch" and replaced by *wünneclîch*. If our explication is correct, the original word, *minneclîch*, may be retained.

Finally, there are in the poem touches of irony manifest in certain discrepancies and contrasts in motivation. In speaking of the maid's spirit of self-sacrifice, Hartmann says:

man möhte wol genôzen
ir kintlich gemüete
hin ze der engel güete. . . .
(lines 464-66)

That is, to quote Saran: "Man hätte gewiß ihren kindlich frommen Sinn der Heiligkeit der Engel gleich stellen können." And yet this seems to contrast strangely with the *Umständlichkeit* of the list of motives which the maid advances in defense of her self-sacrifice: (1) It is folly to live a long life and then to be damned; (2) She is immediately to receive eternal salvation; (3) She will protect her parents from temporal loss and destitution; (4) If their lord is allowed to die, they will all be ruined through loss of *êre und guot*.

But not only in the words of the maid or of the very earthy

bûman do we find such materialistic motives contrasting strangely with the spiritual character of the story. Even in Heinrich's words we find some startling inconsistencies. When, for example, Heinrich rejects the girl's offer of her life, he says (to quote Saran again), "Die Leute meines Landes würden darüber spotten, wenn ich von jetzt ab noch zu Heilmitteln irgendwelcher Art greifen würde [and note this!] und doch keinen Erfolg weiter davon hätte, als daß die Sache trotzdem ihr gewöhnliches Ende nähme." But there are yet other examples of confused motivation on Heinrich's part. One is especially noteworthy: after Heinrich has seen the maid on the operating table and decided (lines 1243-46) that he would be a fool to wish to live if God willed that he die, he adds, speaking to himself:

unde ouch dar zuo enweist
ob dich diss kundes tôt ernert.

Without further examples we can see from the above how the motivation for action or inaction wavers between matters of spirit, of material gain, and of reputation.

And what is the reason for these apparently ironical turns in the narrative? They stem, it would seem, from the fact that Hartmann was writing from three different, and yet equally vital, levels of experience.

He chose for his poem a subject from the realm of religious literature: an exemplum to be used in a sermon. Such exempla, like all parables, were designed to point a moral and, having to do with the vital problem of salvation, were outlined in strong blacks and whites, with little room for nuance.

Hartmann had enjoyed both the religious and the classical education of the *Klosterschule* and could not, in spite of his position as the poet of courtly *mâze*, remain impervious to the power and the implications of the simple religious parable. But he was, too, a man of the world, a master of *der höfischen Denkart*, and could not, after all, have failed to be aware of the lack of moderation in the strong colors of virtue and self-sacrifice in his original. And finally, as the son of humble parents, he was never out of touch with the harsh reality of medieval life.

Corresponding to these three levels of Hartmann's personal life are equivalent levels in the theme and dramatis personae of the story he was retelling: the religious parable reminiscent of the old story of Job, and the fanatical will to self-sacrifice on the part of the simple maid; the figure of the perfect, almost too perfect, knight; and, finally, the materialistic world of the *bûman* and his *wol werbendes wîp*.

The conclusion would seem to be obvious: the shimmering qual-

ity, the weaving and wavering of tone and emphasis and motivation in the poem which led us to speak of "gentle irony" can perhaps best be attributed to the fact that Hartmann was, unconsciously it may be, impelled to conceive and compose his work on the three levels of experience inherent in his own life and in the texture of the story he had chosen to retell.

University of New Mexico

NOTES ON THE EVOLUTION OF A RONSARD SONNET
"JE VOUS ENVOYE UN BOUQUET"

By A. EMERSON CREORE

The fine sonnet "Je vous envoye un bouquet que ma main" appeared for the first time in the *Continuation des Amours* of 1555. In 1557 Ronsard published it again with some modifications, and for the 1560 edition of the *Œuvres* he reworked it once more, giving it its definitive form. It is missing from the edition of 1578 and does not appear again in the collected works of Ronsard until the posthumous edition of 1609 where it is included among the *pièces retranchées*.

M. Paul Laumonier, to whom we owe the monumental critical edition of Ronsard still in the course of publication, states that Ronsard sacrificed this sonnet in 1578 because he realized that its theme appeared too often in his amorous poetry.¹ Yet however banal the theme may be both in Ronsard's work and elsewhere, this sonnet is still one of its most graceful expressions, certainly worthy of standing beside the lovely "Mignonne allons voir," and much more charming than the elegy of 1567 "J'ay ce matin amassé de ma main" which is perhaps Ronsard's most developed statement of the theme.

Although one may consider that Ronsard's severity toward this sonnet was excessive, it is interesting to observe the modifications he brought to it between 1555 and 1560. By studying the successive changes with some attention one may follow the creative thought of the poet, who never ceased to perfect his work or to advance toward a lofty poetic ideal. Let us try to follow him as he changes his poem.

In 1555 the sonnet appears:

Je vous envoye un bouquet de ma main
Que j'ay ourdy de ces fleurs epanies:
Qui ne les eust à ce vespre cuillies,
Flaques à terre elles cherroient demain.

Cela vous soit un exemple certain
Que voz beautés, bien qu'elles soient fleuries,
En peu de tems cherront² toutes flétries,
Et periront, comme ces fleurs, soudain.

Le tems s'en va, le tems s'en va, ma Dame:
Las! le tems non, mais nous nous en allons,
Et tost serons estendus sous la lame:

Et des amours desquelles nous parlons,
Quand serons morts n'en sera plus nouvelle:
Pour-ce aimés moi, ce pendant qu'estes belle.

¹ VII, 152.

² The variant "seront" for "cherront" which appears in most modern reprintings of the sonnet would seem to be the work of a posthumous editor since it does not appear in the Laumonier critical edition.

In 1557 Ronsard reworked the sonnet for the first time, changing the fourth verse to the form which it has kept ever since:

Cheutes à terre elles fussent demain :

What were his reasons? In the first place he may have felt that the sound of "flaques" was too sharp and staccato for the image of quiescent, fallen leaves, and that its meaning contributed little to that image. "Cheutes," considered in its sound alone, is a more harmonious word than "flaques," and furthermore by substituting "fussent" for "cherroient," which is no longer needed since the notion of falling is expressed by "cheutes," the whole line became more harmonious, the vowel of "cheutes" being echoed by the vowel of "fussent," and even the sibilant *s* of "cheutes" in liaison being recalled by the *ss* of "fussent." Nor is this all, for by using the passive participle "cheutes" the poet throws emphasis on the state of the leaves after they have fallen rather than on the action of falling itself ("cherroient"), thus establishing a parallel between the flowers "cheutes à terre" and the future state of the lovers "estendus sous la lame" in verse 11. No such parallel exists in the original version with "flaques." At the same time the notion of falling expressed by "cherroient" and repeated in verse 7 by "cher-ront" is preserved by "cheutes." The new line thus preserves a parallelism which existed in the original version and adds a second, thus tightening the construction and heightening the poetic effect.

The change of the first two lines to the familiar

Je vous envoie un bouquet *que* ma main
Vient de trier de ces fleurs épanies

was made in 1560. Paul Laumonier quotes in his notes several possible sources for the huitain of the sonnet, among which is an epigram of Rufinus from the Greek Anthology which reads in translation: "Je t'envoie, Rhodoclée, cette couronne qu'avec de belles fleurs j'ai moi-même tressée de mes mains. . . ." It seems quite probable that Ronsard wrote his original version of the sonnet with this epigram in mind. His "*de* ma main *Que j'ay ourdy*" obviously corresponds closely. But Ronsard wrote "bouquet," not "couronne" (perhaps because "un bouquet" with three syllables fitted better into the verse than "une couronne" with four or five), and while a wreath is woven, a bouquet is not, or need not be. "Ourdy," therefore, was not really appropriate to "bouquet." It seems legitimate to suppose that in 1560 Ronsard, more concerned with the harmony of his poetry than with fidelity to sources, decided to remove "ourdy," and in so doing to remove also the repetition of the stressed *i* sound at the fourth and tenth syllables which made an unattractive interior rhyme. The hiatus of "j'ay ourdy" was probably not a determining factor, since an interior hiatus exists in the new version with

"trier." The change to "que ma main Vient de trier" also improves the poetic image, since it brings with it an extension of the sense of "ces fleurs epanies." In the original version these are the particular flowers which compose the bouquet; as revised they become the flowers growing in the garden from which a few are selected for the bouquet. There is a danger, of course, of reading into the lines of a poet something that he did not consciously intend, but it may be suggested that the idea of selection implied by "trier," selection of the loveliest flowers for the loved one, enhances the poetic quality of the line.

In 1560 Ronsard also changed the eighth verse to its definitive form:

Et comme fleurs periront tout soudain.

In its original form "Et periront, comme ces fleurs, soudain" the two strong pauses after "periront" and "fleurs," dividing the verse into three strongly accented groups, interrupt the smoothness of the rhythm. The sense, too, is interrupted by the separation of "soudain" from its verb by the parenthetical simile "comme ces fleurs." With the transfer of the comparison to the beginning of the line the word "ces" had to be sacrificed so that the fourth syllable would be stressed (obviously it would be impossible to eliminate "et"). But this substitution and the addition of "tout" extend and strengthen the poetic idea. With "comme fleurs" the idea of perishing is extended to all flowers, not, as with "comme ces fleurs" limited to the particular flowers of the bouquet or of the poet's garden. Thus the poet stresses the common destiny of all flowers and all men. And the change of "soudain" alone to "tout soudain," emphasizing as it does the brevity of the time allotted to feminine beauty and to flowers alike, balances well with "cheutes . . . demain," "peu de tems," "tost serons estendus."

In the progressive changes to the sonnet three principles may be distinguished, although they are inextricably bound together. In the first place each change brings with it an improvement in the harmonic and rhythmic qualities of the verse which makes it fall pleasantly on the ear. Secondly, there is a tightening of construction, an establishment of parallelisms and interrelationships between the several parts of the sonnet which makes it a logical and cohesive whole. And finally, there is a constant progress towards universality of implication and broadening of the poetic image.

Furthermore, it is worth noticing that all of the changes which Ronsard made concerned the huitain only—precisely that part which in its original form was clearly an imitation of an ancient model. The tercets remained unchanged; apparently the more original part of the sonnet continued to satisfy the poet. In this fact one is justified in seeing a maturing of the poet, a growing independence of

literary sources, and a change from direct imitation to the particular kind of imitation described by the Pléiade as "innutrition," which is perhaps the only kind of artistic imitation that can be justified. A copy must always shine by the reflected light of its model, but a re-creation, however common its theme, is capable of shedding its own light.

University of Washington

AN EARLY AMERICAN TRANSLATION OF THE COUNT UGOLINO EPISODE

By JOSEPH G. FUCILLA*

During the closing years of the eighteenth century there flourished at Hartford, Connecticut, then the literary center of New England, a group of intellectuals who have become known as the "Connecticut or Hartford Wits." The leaders of this little band of patriots and proponents of a new American literature that might measure up to the importance that the young nation had just acquired were John Trumbull, Timothy Dwight, Joel Barlow, David Humphreys, and Richard Alsop.¹ All of them are familiar figures to students of American literature. Of these, it appears that only one, Alsop, was actively interested in Italian culture.

With reference to this Italophile, it will not be necessary to give many biographical details, but we might mention here that he was born in Middletown, Connecticut, in 1761, and that he devoted a large part of his life to writing and to the book business. He died at the age of fifty-four in 1815. His original literary output consists chiefly of satirical verse, an epic entitled *Conquest of Scandinavia*, a long narrative poem entitled *Charms of Fancy*, and a *Memorial* to George Washington.² He made translations from Greek, Latin, French, German, and Spanish works.³ But he had a special predilection for Italian, and among his printed translations from this language we find *Enchanted Lake of Fairy Morgana* from the *Orlando Innamorato* of Francesco Berni,⁴ printed in 1806, and *Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chile* by Abbé Don J. Ignatius Molina,⁵ translated from the original Italian by an American Gentleman, Middletown, 1806. Karl P. Harrington, in his *Richard Alsop: A Hartford Wit*,⁶ lists two short translations from Metastasio drawn from the *Semiramide* and *Zenobia* which appeared in the first volume of the *American Magazine and Monthly Review* published in 1797. He misses another short translation from the *poeta cesareo's*

*I hereby wish to express my appreciation to Yale University Library for permission to photostat the Alsop translation.

¹ For a detailed discussion, see Leon Howard, *The Connecticut Wits* (Chicago, 1943). But for Alsop, who is not treated in this book, consult Karl P. Harrington, *Richard Alsop: A Hartford Wit* (Middletown, Conn., 1939).

² Most of the printed versions are listed by Harrington, *op. cit.*

³ Greek, Latin, and French translations are mentioned by Harrington, but nothing is said about the German and Spanish pieces. From the German, Alsop translated *Julius of Tarentum*, a tragedy in five acts, by M. Liesewitz.

⁴ This is, of course, a *rifacimento* of Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*.

⁵ Volume II of Molina's work is actually a translation from the Spanish, not the Italian. See N. C. Shields, *Italian Translations in America* (New York, 1931), p. 10.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

L'Eroe Cinese, also in Volume I, and a short poem entitled "A Song from the Italian," printed in Volume III. Two more Metastasian translations, one from *L'Eroe Cinese* and the other from *Siroè*, are contained in a manuscript recently acquired by the Yale University Library. In a separate notebook also in the Yale Library is a translation from Vincenzo Monti: *Aristodemus or Ambition and Remorse*, a tragedy in five acts, completed in 1814. The manuscript containing the Metastasian translations likewise contains a piece entitled: "A literal Version of the Close of the 32d and Part of the 33d Canto of the Inferno of Dante." Our present concern is entirely with this last fragment, which can most conveniently be reproduced at this point as the best approach to our discussion. It runs as follows:

We had scarcely parted from him, when I beheld two, frozen together in one cell, so that the head of the one was placed over that of the other. And as if he were devouring bread in hunger so did the uppermost fix his teeth in the head of the lower where it is joined to the neck. In like manner as Tydeus gnawed the temples of Menalippus in his fury, so did this the skull of that. "O thou said I, who in so savage a mode displayest thy hatred for him whom thou devourest, say whence proceeds this hideous connection, as if thou hast cause to complain of him, in knowing who thou art and what his crime, in the world above I also will lament thee, while my tongue can perform its office. . . ."

The sinner lifted his mouth from the horrid food, and smoothing down the hair of the head which he had discomposed he thus began. "Thou wishest me to renew that excessive grief which weighs down my heart even now in thinking before that I speak thereof. But if my words can be productive of infamy to the traitor whom I rend, words and tears shalt thou perceive together. I know not who thou art, nor by what means thou hast come hither below, but by thy speech in truth thou appearest to me a Florentine. Know that I was the Count Ugolino, and this the Archbishop Ruggero: and now will I relate to you why I am thus united with him. How through his wicked devices, confiding in him, I was taken, and afterwards put to death, there is no occasion to recount. But what you cannot have known, that is, how cruel was my death, thou shalt hear, and know if he has injured me. A small crevice within the wall of the prison, which from me has received the appellation of famine and in which others are also doomed to be enclosed, had now discovered to me through the opening its dawning light, when I fell in a disturbed sleep which rent the veil of futurity before me. There appeared to me nobles and lords, in pursuit of a wolf and its young on the mountain which conceals Lucca from Pisa. With gaunt, vigilant and well-trained hounds, the Gualandis with the Sigismondis and Lanfranchis had placed themselves at the head. After a short course the father and the sons appeared to me to be overcome with fatigue and I beheld their sides torn by the sharp teeth of the dogs. I awoke ere it was yet morning and heard my sons, who were with me, cry in their sleep, and beg for bread. Indeed thou art cruel, if now thou grieveest not, in thinking what were the forebodings of my heart, and if thou weepest not at what art thou wont to weep. We were now awake and the hour approached when our food was accustomed to be brought us, while from his dream did each one feel dubious. Then I heard the upper door of the horrible prison locked on which I looked in the faces of my sons without uttering a word. I wept not so petrified had I become, they wept, and my little Anselmo said "You look so father, what ails you?" However, I wept not, nor did I reply all that day nor the following night, until another sun shone upon the earth. As a feeble ray glimmered in the mournful prison, and I perceived those four faces on which my features were impressed, I bit my hands through anguish; while they imagining that I did it

through hunger instantly arose, and said: "Father, much less pain would it give us, if you would eat us; you cloathed us with this wretched flesh, and do you despoil us of it." I then forced myself to composure, not to render them more wretched; that day and the next we all remained mute; ah, cruel earth, why openedst thou not! When the fourth day arrived, Gaddo fell and extended himself at my feet, saying, "My father, why do thou not assist me?" There he died: and in like manner I saw there three others fall one by one betwixt the fifth and the sixth day; when now become blind I gave myself up to grope over each one and called upon two of them after they were dead. At length hunger did more than grief could perform.

The only printed evidence that we have had hitherto on the existence of the above translation is the *Diary* of William Dunlap, one of the most versatile men of the times. The latter had visited Alsop at Middletown on Sunday, November 19, 1797, and among the other happenings of the day recorded in his notebook: "Rich'd show'd me a literal translation of Ugolino's story from Dante, it is the best I have seen."⁷ There is no way of establishing the exact date when the version was made. It is undated in the manuscript. Other compositions that are dated range from 1782 to 1807, which does not help us very much. However, Alsop might have done it as early as 1788, since an allusion to Fata Morgana in his *Charms of Fancy* would appear to indicate that he had already some conversancy with Italian literature at that time. Nor, furthermore, do we have the means of knowing how well informed Dunlap was on the matter when he expressed his opinion, nor whether at the moment of its reading it was compared with the original Italian or any of the other existing versions. Be it as it may, it turns out, either accidentally or otherwise, that our critic's verdict is quite correct, though this does not necessarily carry with it the implication that the translation has any really outstanding merit. It is merely somewhat less pedestrian than the banal performances which had preceded it. Nevertheless, it is truthfully described by Alsop as "literal," and is hence fairly accurate. Analysis shows that what may be termed flagrant mistranslations appear only in four places: (1) "Questo pareva a me maestro e donno" is turned into "There appeared to me nobles and lords"; (2) "S'avea messi dinanzi da la fronte," to "had placed themselves at the head"; (3) "l'uscio di sotto" is oddly rendered as the "upper door"; and (4) "E due di li chiamai poi che fur morti" as "and called upon two of them after they were dead." These may be taken as signs of a superficial acquaintance with the Italian language on the part of our author, which they unquestionably are. On the other hand, it should be stressed that this, as well as other pieces, was never intended for publication, despite the fact that Alsop through his own book firm and the firms of persons

⁷ Cf. *Diary of William Dunlap (1766-1839): The Memoirs of a Dramatist, Theatrical Manager, Painter, Critic, Novelist, and Historian*, Vol. I, November, 1786-October, 1788, May 20, 1797-December 15, 1798. In Vol. LXII of the *Collections of the New York Historical Society* (New York, 1930), p. 171.

close to him could easily have brought them out in print. We may conclude that in so doing he was giving expression to the yearning of a man who loved art for its own sake and for the enjoyment that he personally derived from it. In the light of this genuine devotion to culture we are inclined to view his faults with not too much severity.

Alsop's prosification antedates by a good many years any American attempt at this type of translation, at least as far as Dante is concerned. In fact, we do not encounter other examples until 1843, when Emerson composed his prose version of *Vita Nuova*. As to a prose handling of the *Divina Commedia*, that did not take place until almost a half century after the translating of Dante's youthful work in Charles Eliot Norton's version of the *Inferno* (1891). But it was not the first time that prose was used in English in rendering Dante's masterpiece. The tradition had started in England as early as 1568 with William Barker's translation of nine lines from *Purgatorio* XXV, and it was followed by other fragmentary prose renderings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the eighteenth century the tradition was continued by Baretta in his *Dissertation upon Italian Poetry* (1753), the Reverend Joseph Warton in his slightly revised version of Baretta in *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (Volume I, 1756), Charles Burney in his unpublished translation of the *Inferno* (1761), Thomas Warton in his *History of English Poetry* (1781), and Henry Francis Cary in his Letter to Miss Seward (1792).⁸ Though the prose translation current was well-established, as we have seen from the examples already cited, if we were to look for a guide or source for Alsop's procedure, it is certain that we should discover it in the Baretta version, which was most easily accessible to our present translator through one of the half-dozen or more editions and reprints of Warton's *Essay*. In both Baretta and Warton we find the Dantean phrase "e io scorsi per quattro visi il mio aspetto stesso" translated as "that I could view again those four faces in which my image was impressed [impressed]."⁹ Comparing it with the American interpretation, "and I perceived those four faces on which my features were impressed," it is at once clear that we can discern between them a verbal similarity and a thought pattern that could hardly be attributed to accident. But these prece-

⁸ Cf. Paget Toynbee, "English Translations of Dante in the Eighteenth Century," *Dante Studies* (Oxford, 1921), pp. 281-300.

⁹ The Warton version is cited by Toynbee, *loc. cit.*, p. 287. It is erroneously considered an original translation by this Dante scholar. This is partially due to the fact that he made use of one of the editions of the *Essay* which appeared in 1772 or at a later date. Here avowal of the source is omitted, but had he looked into the 1756, 1762, 1764, and 1766 editions and reprints he would have found Warton's footnote reading: "Mr. Baretta's just translation is here used. See his *Dissertation upon the Italian Poets*." Our rectification also calls for a restatement on Thomas Warton's translation, namely, that "It was evidently based upon that of his brother Joseph Warton. . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 291. It is, of course, obvious that it, too, derives from Baretta.

dents were only a stimulus. For as sensitive a poet as Alsop there must have been an inner as well as superficial outer motivation for his choice of a prose medium. As far as we know, his other translations are in verse. Why, then, did he deviate from his practice in this instance? The example before us seems to attest to the fact that he, like many other translators, had become at least momentarily convinced that a verse version would inevitably entail a sacrifice of substance to form and that as such it would be bound to convey to the reader a faint and imperfect reproduction of its original. Yet after he had accomplished his task and had analyzed his contribution, he no doubt realized (as have we) that excessive literality had the effect of destroying much of the poetic content of the fragment. Thus it remained an experiment which he apparently never repeated.

In the matter of selecting the Ugolino episode for translation Richard Alsop was also, quite patently, paying his allegiance to precedent, for the story was one of the favorite themes of the times, having been turned into English by Jonathan Richardson (1719), Thomas Gray (1737), Barette (1753), the Reverend Joseph Warton (1756), his brother, Thomas Warton (1781), Frederick Howard, fifth Earl of Carlisle (1781), and Henry Constantine Jennings (1795),¹⁰ seven versions as compared to two of the famous Paolo and Francesco episode that was so frequently imitated during the Romantic period that followed. In art it was illustrated by the great Joshua Reynolds (1773), Henry Fuseli (1777), George Sidney (1788), and the mystical William Blake (1793).¹¹ Furthermore, the popularity of the account came, in part, to coincide with the vogue of the Gothic novel with its emphasis on blood-curdling incidents. Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* and Ann Radcliffe's *Castle of Athlin and Dunboyne* and *Mysteries of Udolpho* will be remembered in this connection. The fact that Richard Alsop himself succumbed to the new school of Gothic fiction, as can be seen from the grim horrors that he related in his undated *Conquest of Scandinavia*, is an indication as to how naturally predisposed he was to prefer the Ugolino story to other Dante episodes. It is to our translator's credit, incidentally, that he should not merely be the only person of the group in the eighteenth century to give recognition to the unity of the piece by making use of the powerful prelude in Canto XXXII; to the best of our knowledge, his example is also unique among translators of the episode in any language. In employing only Canto XXXIII as the basis for their versions, all the others had failed to detect the intimate interlocking that exists between the two cantos, which alone welds the account into a whole both aesthetically and with respect to content.

While as an artistic product it cannot be denied that his "literal

¹⁰ Cf. Toynbee, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ Cf. Toynbee, "The Earliest English Illustrators of Dante," *Dante Studies*, pp. 133-35.

translation" considered in its entirety is of doubtful value, it, nevertheless, has a historical significance that far transcends its literary worth. We have already pointed out that Alsop was a pioneer in several respects, but his contribution is most valuable in still another connection. As one of the few bits of translation from the *Divine Comedy* made in America during the eighteenth century, it is an important milestone in the history of Dante's vogue in the United States. In fact, pending other evidence that may be uncovered in the future, it constitutes one of only three known American seventeenth and eighteenth-century Dante translations. The other two are a verse and a half translated from the twenty-fourth canto of the *Paradiso* by John Clapp in his *New York Almanack* for 1697,¹² and William Dunlap's twenty-eight line translation in English heroic verse in the *New York Magazine* for 1791.¹³ If it is possible to accept our author's prose version as a product of his youth, it would, of course, replace Dunlap's verses as the earliest extensively translated Dante passage now available to us.

To be sure, these isolated voices stand out in sharp contrast to the large chorus of Dante admirers which came after them, including such outstanding literary figures as Irving, Bryant, Poe, Longfellow, Lowell, Hawthorne, Whitman, Melville, and T. S. Eliot.¹⁴ Yet it would be fair to say that there must have been then as now a goodly number of silent voices, readers of Dante the expression of whose admiration has never been recorded,¹⁵ and this unchronicled expression, together with the opinion that has been chronicled, has played its part in paving the way for the establishment of the great American Dante tradition that is now ours.

Northwestern University

¹² See "The First Fragment of a Translation of the *Divine Comedy* Printed in America: A New Find," *Italica*, XXV (1948), 9-11.

¹³ See "The First Fragment of a Translation of the *Divine Comedy* Printed in America," *Italica*, VIII (1931), 40-41.

¹⁴ See J. C. Mathews' articles in *American Literature*, X (1939), *Italica*, XVI (1939), University of Texas Studies in English for 1938, 1939, 1940, 1942; G. Giovannini, "Melville's *Pierre* and Dante's *Inferno*," *PMLA*, LXIV (1949), 70-78; M. Praz, "T. S. Eliot e Dante," in *Machiavelli in Inghilterra ed altri saggi*, 2nd ed. (Milan, 1943), pp. 239-67, an essay first printed in *Southern Review*, II (1936-37), 323-48; and J. L. Brown, "Dante and Modern American Poetry," *Giornale Dantesco*, n.s. XII (1939), dealing with T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound. See also A. La Piana, *Dante's American Pilgrimage: A Historical Survey of Dante Studies in the United States, 1800-1944* (New Haven, 1948).

¹⁵ Naturally, these readers relied primarily on English sources of information. Some idea of what they were can be gleaned from Tynbee, *Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary* (London, 1909), pp. 190-576.

LA CHARTREUSE DE PARME: THE PROBLEM OF STYLE

BY A. LYTTON SELLS

There can be few examples in fiction of a novel as powerful as the *Chartreuse de Parme* which yet exhibits more palpable defects, and even deficiencies, in style. It contains pages, such as the self-consultations of Count Mosca, of which the originality is dazzling; others, such as Fabrice's first evening in the Tour Farnèse, of an almost miraculous beauty. It presents more truths about human nature than almost any novel one can think of. And yet the reader is constantly reminded of a certain sameness, and even flatness, in the style, and perceives that some of the greatest effects are not brought out as they might have been. Admirers of Stendhal tend to pass lightly over these weaknesses, if they notice them; and hence it has come about that the well-founded criticisms by Balzac, Sarcey, and others,¹ have not received the attention which is their due.

In *La Revue parisienne* for September 25, 1840, Balzac had subjected the *Chartreuse* to a searching analysis. It was, he declared, despite certain faults of composition, a masterpiece "où le sublime éclate de chapitre en chapitre." He went on to speak of the landscape descriptions, "d'un dessin un peu sec," which however pleased him, but added: "Le côté faible de cette œuvre est le style, en tant qu'arrangement de mots, car la pensée, éminemment française, soutient la phrase"; and he concluded by recalling the care which Chateaubriand had given to the revision of *Atala* and De Maistre to *Le Lépreux de la Vallée d'Aoste*: "Je souhaite que M. Beyle soit mis à même de retravailler, de polir la *Chartreuse de Parme*, et de lui imprimer le caractère de perfection, le cachet d'irréprochable beauté que MM. de Chateaubriand et de Maistre ont donnés à leurs livres chéris."²

Sarcey admired the novel throughout most of his life, with more of enthusiasm in 1849, with more of discrimination in 1883. He recognized then, with Balzac, that it was not well composed, and added:

C'est, hélas! un livre mal écrit. . . . Son style est le plus souvent sec, composé de petites phrases brèves et incolores. D'autres fois, il s'embarque dans des périodes dont il ne peut sortir, il les enchevêtre de *qui* et de *que* d'où l'on ne se démêle pas plus que lui. S'il a besoin dix fois du même mot, il le répète dix fois sans scrupule et ce n'est presque jamais un mot qui peigne.

He likes the landscapes, but considers them impaired by "le trait trop sec," "trop précis" (a remark which may be questioned), and by a lack of color.³

¹ See Jean Méliá, *Stendhal et ses commentateurs* (Paris, 1911).

² H. de Balzac, *Œuvres Diverses*, III, 402, 404, 405, in *Œuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1940).

³ Cf. Méliá, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

Like Sarcey and many another "Normalien," Hippolyte Taine had been inoculated with a love of Stendhal by Paul Jacquinet,⁴ who was Reader in French Literature at the Ecole Normale from 1842 to 1867. Unlike Sarcey, he was hardly capable of criticizing the master's style; his own views on style were identical with Stendhal's. "J'ai eu pour modèle d'un bout à l'autre le Code civil": the words are Taine's, but they might have been Stendhal's, and are obviously taken from him. Taine, however, was not a novelist, in spite of his "roman"; and the novelists of the period were not enamoured of Stendhal. Maupassant declared that he had "complètement ignoré l'art, ce mystère qui différencie le penseur de l'écrivain," and that he had, moreover, confused "l'emphase avec la langue artiste"—a reproach which may have been addressed to the description of the lake of Como in Chapter 2 of the novel; while Edmond de Goncourt concluded, briefly: "Son âme me semble aussi sèche que sa prose." Arthur Chuquet, in his *Stendhal-Beyle*, said much the same: "Stendhal n'est pas un écrivain." Among contemporary admirers of the *Chartreuse*, Pierre Jourda admits that it contains "des notations trop sèches ou trop brèves, défauts qui s'expliquent si l'on songe à la rapidité de la rédaction."⁵ But elsewhere, in a study of "Le Paysage dans la *Chartreuse de Parme*," he shows that a landscape meant very much the same for Stendhal as for Lamartine; he was more interested in its moral significance, in recording the "états d'âme" it inspired, than in any artistic representation of it.⁶ Jourda's view seems to us accurate. Years before, when on his way from France to Italy, as the *diligence* toiled up the long slope of the Jura and the forest of Arbois came in sight, Stendhal would think he saw in this uncompromising horizon a visible sign of Métilde's anger. But it was "l'âme de Métilde" that he saw, not the serrated line of spruce-tops broken by jutting crags. In a letter to Balzac, he recalled that he had once been nearly involved in a duel for attacking Chateaubriand's "la cime indéterminée des forêts."⁷

Henri Martineau is more indulgent. After noting that Balzac's principal criticism was directed against the style, he admits that "il est souvent négligé":

Mais d'ordinaire Stendhal atteignait d'un jet au style que lui-même aimait car il ne distrairait jamais le lecteur de l'attention qu'il faut accorder au fond des choses. Il n'est jamais faux, ampoulé ou vague; au contraire il est épris de logique . . . ce style néanmoins peut paraître en peu sec, mais ce n'est pas seulement du mouvement le plus naturel qu'il porte la pensée, il s'applique sur elle comme un vernis translucide qui semble n'avoir d'autre rôle que d'aviver la couleur primitive. Il n'a pas vieilli, il est toujours actuel. . . .⁸

⁴ Mélia, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-38.

⁵ *La Chartreuse de Parme*, texte établi et commenté par Pierre Jourda (Paris, 1933), I, xvi.

⁶ *Ausonia*, jan.-juin, 1941.

⁷ Letter of October 30, 1840. *Correspondance*, ed. H. Martineau (1934), X, 281.

⁸ *L'Œuvre de Stendhal* (Paris, 1945), p. 475.

This passage, which one would like to cite in full, offers the best defense of our author's style which we have ever read. M. Martineau goes on to discuss Stendhal's efforts to correct the novel on the lines suggested by Balzac, but concludes, wisely enough, that it is vain to imagine how it would have been modified. Stendhal might even have spoiled its "charmant abandon."⁹

Stendhal had been so delighted with Balzac's eulogies that he began in 1840 to correct the style of his novel with a view to a later edition. But he soon realized that it was his whole conception of writing that was in question. "Voici le fond de ma maladie," he had written, in the first copy of his letter to Balzac: "le style de J.-J. Rousseau, de M. Villemain, de Mme Sand, me semble dire une foule de choses qu'il ne faut pas dire, et souvent beaucoup de faussetés. Voilà le grand mot lâché."¹⁰ In the second copy of his letter: "Je ne vois qu'une règle: être clair."¹¹ Finally, in the third copy: "j'abhorre le style contourné" and, taking his courage in both hands, "En composant la *Chartreuse*, pour prendre le ton, je lisais chaque matin deux ou trois pages du Code civil."¹² This was not so much an answer, as a confession of limitations. Balzac might justifiably have gone further in his criticism, for style involves not only "arrangement de mots," but choice of words, and the art of suppressing words, and Stendhal is deficient in all these respects. For, although his style is admirably plain and honest and offers a magnificent example of "cette littérature sèche et ardente"—as Paul Valéry has described it—of which France seems to possess the secret, one may question whether it is adequate for the purpose he had in view, which was to "describe the movements of the human heart."

His style is so unpretentious that it becomes on occasion careless and offhand. It is a mistake to tell us that he had forgotten to include a certain piece of information in the chapter he had written a day or two before. If he wished to pass over "a space of two or three years without saying a single word about them," he had only to use one of the recognized artifices. There are graver faults. His style is sometimes lacking in warmth, and always in color. "Jamais un mot qui peigne," as Sarcey said. The great moments are not usually prepared for, or adequately supported, stylistically; there is nothing remotely resembling a purple patch, nothing comparable to the great pages in Chateaubriand and Flaubert; and so the more dramatic episodes, nobly as they are narrated, tend to slip away on the same current, or—to change the metaphor—at the same temperature, as the homelier interludes. Thus, the episode of the eagle and Fabrice's vision of his destiny is well brought out, but his unconscious encounter with his father on the field of Waterloo is disappointing and serves no apparent pur-

⁹ *L'Œuvre de Stendhal*, p. 478.

¹⁰ *Correspondance*, X, 270.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, X, 279.

¹² *Ibid.*, X, 281, 282.

pose. The significance of his first meeting with Clélia is pointed by his reflection: "Ce serait une charmante compagne de prison"; but those who are reading the novel for the first time cannot see that this is a tremendous premonition;¹³ the more so, as Clélia, who is here introduced in Chapter 6, plays no further part until Chapter 15.¹⁴ The clue is subtle and refined, but it passes away with a host of other observations which have no significance. Again, we are prepared at length and with a ghoulish amount of detail for the poisoning of the Prince, but when it does take place, we are able only intellectually to grasp the fact. The phrase: "Et de l'eau pour les gens de Parme!" is well imagined but is not exploited as it might have been; and the Prince's death comes near to being an anti-climax. Finally, the great and moving episodes of Sandrino, of the death of Clélia and the death of Fabrice, which are among the best conceived in the whole story, are narrated as though an irascible publisher were waiting at the door—which in fact was not far from being the case.¹⁵ One may add, viewing the novel as a whole, that to describe in successive chapters, or even in one chapter, a scene of love, a scene of hatred and despair, and a scene of plotting and intrigue, in the same cool, methodical manner, by the assemblage of "little details," narrated in the tone of the *Code civil*, is to put an undue strain on the reader and to demand of him responses he can hardly make.

There is, even, in the *Chartreuse de Parme*—and this in spite of Balzac's eulogies of the landscapes—a lack of setting and background, so much did the author dislike descriptive writing and so intensely was he preoccupied with the human heart. This again is a defect. He was not obliged to paint a formal picture of the lake of Como at Cadenabbia, but the picture he did paint was vague and perfunctory. Here, for example, is the promontory of Bellagio:

... la villa Melzi de l'autre côté du lac, vis-à-vis le château, et qui lui sert de point de vue; au-dessus le bois sacré des *Sfondrata*, et le hardi promontoire qui sépare les deux branches du lac, celle de Côme, si voluptueuse, et celle qui court vers Lecco, pleine de sévérité: aspects sublimes et gracieux, que le site le plus renommé du monde, la baie de Naples, égale, mais ne surpasse point. C'était avec ravissement que la comtesse retrouvait les souvenirs de sa première jeunesse et les comparait à ses sensations actuelles. . . . Ici, de tous côtés [she says to herself] je vois des collines d'inégales hauteurs couvertes de bouquets d'arbres plantés par le hasard et que la main de l'homme n'a point encore gâtés et forcés à rendre du revenu. Au milieu de ces collines aux formes admirables et se précipitant vers le lac par des pentes si singulières, je puis garder toutes les illusions des descriptions du Tasse et de l'Arioste. . . . Les villages situés à mi-côte sont cachés par de grands arbres. . . . Si quelque petit champ de cinquante pas de large vient interrompre de temps à autre les bouquets de cha-

¹³ For an example of how such a premonition may be emphasized, one recalls the Laird's prediction about Svengali and his warning to the heroine, in Part II of *Trilby*.

¹⁴ She is introduced once, but very incidentally.

¹⁵ The hurried conclusion was largely due to the publisher, who considered the novel too long as it was. See H. Martineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 471-72.

taigniers et de cerisiers sauvages, l'œil satisfait y voit croître des plantes plus vigoureuses et plus heureuses là qu'ailleurs. Par delà ces collines, dont le faite offre des ermitages qu'on voudrait tous habiter, l'œil étonné aperçoit les pics des Alpes, toujours couverts de neige, et leur austérité sévère lui rappelle des malheurs de la vie ce qu'il en faut pour accroître la volupté présente.¹⁶

When quoting Stendhal, it is only fair to quote him at length. The use of phrases like "aspects sublimes et gracieux," "ces collines aux formes admirables," and, a little further in the same passage, "le langage de ces lieux ravissants, et qui n'ont point de pareils au monde," though their truth is recognized by those who have seen the place, convey little to those who have not. "Jamais un mot qui peigne." Stendhal, it is true, had not been to Cadenabbia or Menaggio for years. He had forgotten, or had not troubled to record, the *local* color, the *characteristic* details, which distinguish the Lake of Como from all the other Lombard lakes. He does not show us the last of the sunset glowing on the pink and yellow house-fronts of Varenna, the lake turning from violet to purple with the approach of evening, while the grim, ash-grey heights of the Grigne merge slowly into the infinite sky. M. Jourda is right: Stendhal's landscapes are moral or inner landscapes, and he sees them in the manner of Lamartine.¹⁷

Yet Stendhal was mistaken in abhorring the "descriptive genre." To grant it some place in the novel, not the first, but a subordinate place, as Flaubert granted it, is only to assign to the sense of vision its due rank in the hierarchy of the perceptions. Balzac himself would have done far better in painting such a landscape as Stendhal attempted. Readers who recall his description in *La Peau de Chagrin* of Raphael's visit to the volcanoes of Auvergne, or, in the *Curé de Village*, of the countryside of eastern Limousin, with its "vastes plaines incultes," its "steppes sans herbes ni chevaux, mais bordés à l'horizon par les hauteurs de la Corrèze," and the wonderful pictures of the Forêt de Montegnac which follow, will have noticed how much interest and character he imparts to these desolate uplands.

Again, at an early point in the novel, Stendhal tells us of "cette fameuse citadelle de Parme, terreur de toute la Lombardie"; he gives its height, says it was built on the model of the Castle of St. Angelo in Rome, and describes the architectural disposition of the governor's palace and of the Tour Farnèse which rise from the esplanade that crowns it. He returns to it again and again, but only to add details of its history and dimensions. This Tour Farnèse¹⁸ Chateaubriand would have presented, now as a grim silhouette rising against a stormy sky;

¹⁶ Ed. Jourda, I, 30-31.

¹⁷ At the most, in the night scene by the lake in Chapter 8, he gives us a vivid *moral* sensation of the hour. But there is nothing *local* about it. We might equally well be in Switzerland or France or Scotland.

¹⁸ Although there is a citadel in Parma, there is no such edifice as the Tour Farnèse. But, as Gabriel Faure has put it, "on a moins envie de reprocher à Stendhal d'être inexact, qu'aux Farnèse de n'avoir pas élevé la fameuse tour." *Stendhal compagnon d'Italie* (Paris, n.d.), p. 71.

now as a mighty campanile bathed in the glow of a transparent night-fall; finally, perhaps, by night, as the symbol of an heroic destiny, with its head lost among the stars. And each change in its moods would have corresponded with a change in the fortunes of Fabrice. Whereas if by chance, in the novel as it is, we become convinced that the citadel of Parma is indeed the most formidable prison in Lombardy, this has been brought about by our imagination, and not by the novelist's art.

It was not that Stendhal could not have done better some eight or ten years earlier. There are in *Rome, Naples et Florence* two or three short lyrical and descriptive passages—the "Rocolo" in the Brianza,¹⁹ and moonlight over Bologna²⁰—which show what poetical effects he could achieve on occasion. But he had not only abandoned any real taste for such passages; he had lost the capacity.

Style is the hallmark of all great writers. Balzac's style, which is often disparaged, is warm, rich and varied by comparison with Stendhal's. It is hard to think of any major novelist whose style is as weak. There are cultured and intelligent people who cannot read Stendhal with pleasure because of the monotony of his writing. A story need not always be particularly original or powerful, provided only it be well told. One thinks of the grace and charm which Gautier would have imparted to the story of Fabrice; of the strength and vigor with which Flaubert would have narrated the adventures of the Sanseverina; of the splendid animal-spirits, the mastery over laughter and over tears, which George du Maurier would have brought to such a tale. This is not to suggest that the *Chartreuse de Parme* is not one of the twenty or so greatest novels ever written; but simply that Stendhal achieved greatness in spite of a handicap which to any other writer would have been fatal.

Indiana University

¹⁹ Ed. Martineau, I, 253-54.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 97.

PHILOSOPHY AND CRITICISM: BERGSON AND THIBAUDET

By JAMES C. O'NEILL

Until the entry of Professor Leo Spitzer into the lists of commentators on Albert Thibaudet,¹ it has not been seriously questioned that Thibaudet's work often presents a conscious application of essentially Bergsonian attitudes to certain problems of literary criticism.² In his attempt to "test the possibility of analyzing the style of . . . the greatest critic of contemporary France," Professor Spitzer contends that Thibaudet adhered to no particular philosophy, that those who have considered him a Bergsonian critic are deluded, and that his "patterns of thought" reflect a deterministic view of the world and a static concept of history.³ These conclusions affect nearly every aspect of Thibaudet's critical activity, in which the role of Bergsonism is in fact central. It was Thibaudet's opinion that "toute révolution philosophique fut une révolution critique, que la critique littéraire est une philosophie de la littérature, et que la philosophie est une critique des données des sens et de la raison."⁴ Bergsonism seemed to him precisely the kind of philosophical revolution which should open new perspectives to criticism,⁵ and as a pupil of Bergson and an avowed extender of Bergsonian ideas in new directions,⁶ he developed these perspectives both in his criticism of literature and of general ideas.⁷

¹ Leo Spitzer, "Patterns of Thought in the Style of Albert Thibaudet," *MLQ*, IX (1948), 259-72, 478-91. Many of the patterns of thought here attributed to Thibaudet are in serious conflict with his own frequently stated opinions and should be questioned until checked against the whole of his work. Although I have done this in detail, I select for presentation here only the point which seems most fundamental. The following remarks, however, represent a drastic condensation, the most summary possible form of an argument fully developed and documented from Thibaudet's work but too extensive for complete reproduction here.

² The matter is treated in general terms by Léon Bopp, "Bergson et Thibaudet," *Henri Bergson: Essais et Témoignages* . . . (Neuchâtel, 1943), pp. 341-46; and by Ramon Fernandez, *Itinéraire Français*, Editions du Pavois (1943), pp. 36-55.

³ Spitzer, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Albert Thibaudet, *Physiologie de la Critique*, Editions de la Nouvelle Revue Critique (1930), p. 240.

⁵ See "Psychanalyse et Critique," *NRF*, XVI (1921), 467; and "Le Quartier des philosophes," *NRF*, XXVIII (1927), 797.

⁶ "Il n'est pas de pensée contemporaine à laquelle je doive plus qu'à celle de M. Bergson. . . J'ai constamment oscillé autour de sa pensée, je l'ai interprétée, prolongée, parfois contredite. . . J'eusse été certainement capable de faire l'effort nécessaire pour me débarrasser de la figure et du rythme de cette pensée . . . s'il ne m'avait apparu ensuite qu'elle coïncidait avec le style le plus pur de la vie philosophique." Thibaudet, *Le Bergsonisme*, vol. 3 of *Trente Ans de vie française*, Editions de la Nouvelle Revue Française (Paris, 1923), I, 8, 11.

⁷ Most extensively in his *Poésie de Stéphane Mallarmé*, Editions de la Nouvelle Revue Française (1912), his *Paul Valéry* (Paris, 1923), and in *Trente Ans de vie française*, which presents his critique of the intellectual milieu of the first years of this century through studies of Barrès, Maurras, and Bergson.

His espousal of Bergsonism was neither accidental nor transitory: he considered it the most satisfactory modern statement of the perennial problems of philosophy, including those of aesthetics with which the critic is most concerned. Wherever the nature of the creative activity is concerned, Thibaudet's habitual pattern of thought is to consider the phenomena of artistic creation as an aspect of the *élan vital* in action:

L'*élan vital* se traduit par des formes dont le double caractère est de ne jamais l'épuiser, et de constituer leur matière par un simple arrêt de leur action génératrice. Or ce sont les caractères mêmes du génie artistique. Ses créations ne l'épuisent pas, mais il ne crée réellement ses formes que par une certaine interruption de son courant créateur.⁸

As a literary historian, Thibaudet takes a point of view which reflects the Bergsonian notion of life in time as an unpredictable and free activity of which no deterministic or causative explanation is possible:

La suite des œuvres littéraires, c'est une suite d'explosions de génie, dont chacune est imprévisible du point de vue de l'autre, mais que l'esprit, faiseur de logique, peut et doit enchaîner en une logique une fois qu'elles sont devenues du passé. Il faut de grandes illusions pour projeter cette logique du passé en une logique d'avenir.⁹

Thibaudet was more concerned with the analytical study of literature *de l'intérieur* than with such problems of history and evolution as the definition of the causes or concomitants of literary phenomena. His awareness of the liaison between literature and other forms of human experience, however, places him in a tradition which includes Taine and Brunetière. The accent must here be placed on the differences between Thibaudet and his predecessors, rather than on the similarities; and that difference has its source in his Bergsonism. Thus his severe judgment of Taine (that he held a deterministic rather than an organic view of evolutionary forces, and was limited by an inadequate associationalist psychology) is based on his adherence to Bergsonism, the philosophy which was a demolition of Taine's premises.¹⁰ Similarly, his analysis of the "instructive failure" of Brunetière derives directly from the Bergsonian critique of the false Spencerian evolutionism on which Brunetière's theories were premised.¹¹ In his own historical criticism, Thibaudet was preserved from the errors of his predecessors by the confluence of two influences—Bergson and Victor Bérard¹²—which acted to prevent him from espousing any mech-

⁸ *Le Bergsonisme*, II, 54.

⁹ *Physiologie de la Critique*, pp. 83-84.

¹⁰ See "Le Centenaire de Taine," *Revue de Paris*, II (1928), 763; "Renan et Taine," *NRF*, XX (1923), 666; and, for final statement of these opinions, *Histoire de la littérature française . . .* (Paris, 1936).

¹¹ See "Le Centenaire d'Herbert Spencer," *NRF*, XIV (1920), 91-104; and Chapter III of *Physiologie de la Critique*.

¹² In Bérard and in Vidal de la Blache, Thibaudet found models for the presentation of the nonliterary factors affecting literature not as determining causes but as concomitants of a free and creative evolutionary process—views perfectly consonant with the Bergsonian ideas. This influence is plain in Thibaudet's

anistic, associationalistic, or deterministic explanation either of the artist's milieu or of his mind.

As an analyst of literary art, Thibaudet habitually presents the creative process in terms of Bergsonian *durée intérieure*: in the progression from creative virtuality to formal realization, he sees a manifestation of *l'esprit qui se défait*, an activity in which artistic inspiration is a form of intuitive knowledge and artistic fabrication a form of intellectual action, in the strict sense of the Bergsonian definitions. The emphasis of psychological criticism must be put upon this process, this *passage du moins réalisé au plus réalisé*:

Il faudrait supposer l'œuvre non encore faite, l'œuvre à faire, entrer dans le courant créateur qui est antérieur à elle, qui la dépose et la dépasse.¹³

From Thibaudet's point of view, the materials of literature (language, symbols, concepts, etc.) appear in a special light, which he describes in purely Bergsonian terms:

Ils n'ont donc, du point de vue de la vie, qu'une réalité négative, ils ne se posent que quand la réalité positive s'étend, se détend, s'immobilise en coupe. . . . Qui s'établit dans la réalité de l'acte créateur, en pleine intuition, voit dans le langage un obstacle, une matérialité. . . . Ce qui vit, pour le linguiste et pour le psychologue, du langage, c'est le courant qui dépose ces mots.¹⁴

Finally, if the critic is to "coincide" with the creative movement which produced the work, to be aware of it as *une chose qui se fait*, this must be by virtue of a faculty which is intuitive, in the Bergsonian sense, rather than intellectual; and Thibaudet's definition of the Taste or Sympathy which is the *sine qua non* of critical appreciation is couched in terms of the Bergsonian distinction between Intuition and Intellect; of the works of art which are the critic's materials, he wrote:

. . . nous vibrons avec elles dans la mesure où elles sont chargées d'humanité, et le sentiment par lequel nous en épousons la beauté ne diffère pas en nature du sentiment qui les a créées. La meilleur de la critique réside dans cette sympathie de sentiment et c'est pourquoi l'intelligence seule ne fait jamais qu'une moitié de la critique. Elle n'en représente que les fonctions de relation. Il lui faut autre chose pour qu'elle se nourisse et qu'elle crée.¹⁵

Theory and practice are never far apart in Thibaudet's work, and when we seek illustrations in his criticism of the application of Bergsonian premises to specific literary problems, the embarrassment of choices is such that detailed demonstration must here be foregone. Some of the unfortunate inferences of Professor Spitzer, however, should not pass uncorrected.

First of all, a confusion concerning the meaning of certain Bergsonian terms used by Thibaudet should be dissipated. In matters of various archeological and historical writings, as well as in such biographies as his *Stendhal* and *Mistral*.

¹³ *Physiologie de la Critique*, p. 224.

¹⁴ "Le langage et la pensée par H. Delacroix," *Europe Nouvelle* (February 19, 1924), p. 927.

¹⁵ *Physiologie de la Critique*, p. 226.

literary history, Thibaudet never identifies (as Professor Spitzer seems to do¹⁶) the *se faisant* merely with literature being currently produced and the *déjà fait* with that of the past. It is the continuum of creative activity subtending the succession of realized works which Thibaudet considers as the *se faisant*, the *élan vital* of literature, of which the artists and their works appear as materializations. On the psychological plane, it is the inner reality of consciousness, of mind, and of personality which is *une chose qui se fait, une durée*, and the realized form *une chose faite*. Whatever the difficulties, the critic's task is to understand and explain this relationship. This is not at all a question of the choice of material, but only of the manner of treating it, which would be the same whatever the period of the work. For this task, says Thibaudet, "Rien ne mérite dès lors mieux d'être utilisé par la critique que la psychologie bergsonienne de cet élan vital."¹⁷ The choice of Thibaudet's criticism of poetry, especially his study of Mallarmé, to make the point that he was not a "true Bergsonian critic" because he did not relate the poet to the "particular movement which he unleashed or helped to develop"¹⁸ is particularly unhappy. Thibaudet's analyses of poetic expression in his *Mallarmé* are Bergsonian to the core. But he also was concerned with doing exactly what Professor Spitzer reproaches him for not attempting, i.e., situating Mallarmé within the *élan vital* of French poetry:

... je pensais moins l'étudier en lui-même qu'en fonction de cet être réel, de cette idée dynamique qu'est la littérature française. Il m'intéressait moins comme individu que comme pointe extrême de la poésie française dans une de ses directions de logique et de vie.¹⁹

The whole effect of Thibaudet's criticism of poetry is to present the development of a "purer" or more difficult lyricism as part of the irreversible *élan vital* of modern French literature. In the famous debates of 1925 and 1926 over this question, Thibaudet's role was (as it had been in his studies of Mallarmé and Valéry previously) to present the issues in purely Bergsonian terms and to defend this point of view:

... je crois bien que le débat sur la poésie pure a apporté de l'eau à mon moulin. Il s'est développé sur le plan bergsonien, il est articulé selon les parties bergsoniennes. Il s'agit en effet de la distribution (non de l'antithèse) de l'intuition et de l'intelligence. L'intuition est la sœur ou l'image de la poésie ou de la prière, elle appartient au mystique comme au philosophe. ... L'intelligence, elle, est le lieu des techniques. Poe, Mallarmé, Valéry, ont connu pareillement le dualisme de l'esprit pur et des techniques, la coexistence des deux registres. ...²⁰

It is in discussing Thibaudet's nonliterary patterns of thought that Professor Spitzer does his subject the greatest disservice. The real

¹⁶ Spitzer, *loc. cit.*, p. 487.

¹⁷ *Le Bergsonisme*, I, 9.

¹⁸ Spitzer, *loc. cit.*, p. 488.

¹⁹ Thibaudet, *Paul Valéry*, p. 2.

²⁰ "Poésie," *NRF*, XXVI (1926), 111-12.

question is the relation of philosophy to criticism, and this was far from an idle question for Thibaudet. A properly philosophical criticism seemed to him one of the desiderata of modern intellectual life, both in the history of institutions and ideas and in the study of literature and art. In all these domains, the impact of Bergsonism had a salutary effect. Purely as a matter of logic, it is difficult to see how a critic who "has no prevailing philosophy" can yet see history as "timeless" and "stemmed," geography and sociology as "deterministic," and the world as having for its "primordial principle not the Heraclitean flux but the Eleatic 'being'."²¹ The fact is, of course, that none of these things is true of Thibaudet. He specifically rejected any identification of his criticism with the Eleatic principle, and espoused the Ionic principles of mobilism, dynamism, and pluralism as expressed in modern form by Bergson. What is most needed in the intellectual life of Europe is what Thibaudet calls "un héraclitéisme dirigé, philosophie propre au XIX^e siècle, qui attribue une valeur morale à la durée créatrice."²² The running debate between him and Julien Benda, that modern Eleatic par excellence, was a debate between an intransigent Bergsonian and the most unrelenting and eloquent opponent of the Bergsonian ideas, a continuation of an eternal dialogue which is at the heart of philosophy both ancient and modern. The persistence of the question is a sign of vitality; but when it came to matters of criticism proper, Thibaudet's defense of his position leaves no room for doubt:

Mais n'oublions pas que, dans tout cela, ce n'est pas de philosophie qu'il s'agit, c'est de critique. Laquelle des deux familles d'esprit prépare le mieux à la critique? Aucun doute. C'est celle d'Ionie. . . . A la forme d'esprit éléate correspondrait une critique étroite, attachée aux idées plutôt qu'aux formes, déniait le droit d'exister à tous les mondes qui ne sont pas faits sur un certain modèle esthétique, logique, classique, avec des barrières d'octroi où l'on demande aux poètes s'ils ont des idées à déclarer. . . . Ce qui fait au contraire de l'ionisme ou du bergsonisme une saine atmosphère pour la critique, c'est leur pluralisme, ce sentiment des individus différents et adverses par lesquels la nature tourne, emporte, annule, notre principe pratique de contradiction.²³

A final word concerning the method by which Professor Spitzer arrives at his delineation of Thibaudet's supposed patterns of thought. It is a method which has in other instances produced original and interesting results, but here it seems vitiated by two defects, one of taste or sense of proportion and one of information. The first can hardly be presented with the force of an argument, since matters of taste are admittedly subjective. Yet Professor Spitzer's analyses of Thibaudet's style, while correct enough, are pedantic in a way which Thibaudet, for one, disliked and often satirized. The reader familiar with Thibaudet's brilliant proliferation of metaphors and witty progressions of

²¹ Spitzer, *loc. cit.*

²² "Une Voix dans la nation européenne," *NRF*, XLI (1933), 117.

²³ "Le Quartier des philosophes," *NRF*, XXVIII (1927), 797.

thought feels that the impression so laboriously dissected and reassembled by Professor Spitzer was already there in the text, to be perceived with less effort and considerably greater delight.²⁴ The second objection is at once more serious and more tangible: it involves the larger implications of Professor Spitzer's method. In a recent essay, he describes the scholar's method as an attempt to work from the surface of the work toward the "inward life-center" by a series of to-and-fro voyages whose ultimate effect would be to integrate the details observed into a "creative principle which may have been present in the soul of the artist . . . the scholar will surely be able to state, after three or four of these fro-voyages, whether he has found the life-giving center. . . ."²⁵ It would be hard to quarrel with the principle, but what of the practice in this study of a creative critic? Professor Spitzer's voyages toward a definition of the central thought of Thibaudet have led him into strange places indeed: they raise strong doubts of the validity of this application of the *Zirkel im Verstehen*. What is the indispensable amount of textual material on which stylistic analysis must be based in order to lead to correct conclusions in matters beyond style? No single answer will serve all cases, but it is evident that the critic cannot start all his voyages from the same place. The analysis of Thibaudet's patterns of thought here offered is based almost exclusively on two essays.²⁶ Typical as these texts are of one facet of Thibaudet's mind, they can scarcely be made to serve as the base for reconstructing the "creative principle" of his work. That work comprises at least seven hundred books and articles published over a period of forty years. It reflects one of the most subtle and far-ranging minds of our time. It would certainly be difficult to construct a figure of Thibaudet which would not reduce him to something less than he was, and it is impossible without a wide acquaintance with his work and a proper understanding of the role played therein by the philosophy which he admired and which so often informs both his theory and his practice of criticism.

University of Michigan

²⁴ Professor Spitzer's analysis of the central figure of Thibaudet's "Lettre à Albert"—*le trait d'union*—is a good example, one which recalls Thibaudet's remarks about the abuses of the source method in explaining poetry: "les causes que vous m'offrez pour expliquer cette réalité vivante, ce sont des réalités mortes. . . . Pour expliquer assez, il faut vouloir trop expliquer." "La Querelle des sources," *NRF*, XXI (1923), 580.

²⁵ Leo Spitzer, *Linguistics and Literary History* (Princeton, 1948), p. 19.

²⁶ "Boileau" and "Lettre à Albert," both published after Thibaudet's death in the volume which contains the homage of his contemporaries: *NRF*, XLVII (1936), 141-52, 159-67.

REVIEWS

Introduction to Medieval Literature Chiefly in England: A Reading List and Bibliography. Second edition. By ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. 32. \$0.60.

The ten years which have elapsed since the first appearance of Professor Loomis' unassuming but valuable syllabus have brought forth no rivals. Revision has allowed the author to keep abreast of the thriving course of medieval scholarship during the decade. To see what dedicated work has done for a field abused by curriculum committees and honored by those who search for truth we need cite only the following names which appear for the first time: Baugh, Bennett and E. K. Chambers, Kennedy, Loomis and Wells, Loomis and Willard, Arnold's Wace, Parry's Andreas Capellanus, Loomis' *Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes*, Knowles, Reese, French on *King Horn*, Denholm-Young, Stearns on Henryson, Meech and Allen's Margery Kempe, Vinaver's Malory, Brown and Robbins, Bowden, Holmes (Cabeen), Farrar and Evans, Weiss on fifteenth-century English humanism, Atkins, N. P. Ker, Apel, and Harvey. This list, unlike the syllabus, neglects important articles written during the period. It is high time to have teachers demonstrate by their assignments (even for undergraduates) the too little regarded truth that some of our best writing, including that of Professor Loomis himself, takes refuge in the so-called dry-as-dust journals and never escapes from them to a general audience.

A syllabus obtains its major value from selectivity, and should not be scrutinized for omissions like the exhaustive works which it records. Yet a few additional titles seem desirable. The continuity of Saxon and Norman civilization would be well illustrated by Helene Chefneux's "Les Fables dans la Tapisserie de Bayeux," *Romania*, LX (1934), 1-35, 153-94, which among other things makes a striking identification of one of the Bayeux figures with a scene in *Beowulf*. Readers of *MLQ* will query the omission of the Parry and Schlauch "Arthurian Bibliography." Students of Courtly Love should not be deprived of the lucid demonstration in Sidney Painter's *French Chivalry* (1940). Perhaps a beginner is safer without the controversies of Coulton and Gasquet, but he will suffer by missing a lively debate which always strikes fire. Some attention under "The Mystics" to James and Leuba might convince recent critics that we can find genuine documents of the irrational before Kafka, Kierkegaard, and Eliot. Gollancz, Day, and Serjeantson's *Sir Gawain* (EETS, 1940) does not supplant Tolkien and Gordon, but it supplements their book. Mentions of *YWES* and *PMLA* seem to have crowded out the *MHRA Annual Bibliography*, which is on the march again, and which American students neglect at the risk of becoming as parochial as they sometimes accuse their English and Continental colleagues of being. Russell's *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England* (1936) and Thompson's *Medieval Library* (1939) are broad enough to deserve inclusion. The true purpose of any college course, to stimulate further exploration, might be better served by the addition of Davison and Apel's *Historical Anthology of Music* (1947) and of recordings like the Gregorian chants of Solesmes Abbey (Victor Albums M-87). Professor Loomis has no doubt had good reasons for most of these omissions; the reviewer is merely demonstrating that he has annotated his copy of the syllabus.

It is stimulating to discover how useful the skeleton of one college course can be to teachers everywhere. The wise threefold division under each lecture-title is a practical solution to our current problem of how to make an elementary course profitable to advanced students. There is a minimal division for the cold and literal-minded beginner, a second division to stimulate the undergraduate who catches the spark, and a third division for the advanced student who has the flames under control. Professor Loomis feels with the rest of us, no doubt, the shame of a curriculum in which literary historians and critics seem to be trying to adopt a positivistic discipline which thirsts unknowingly for those springs of medieval emotion that can vicariously nourish the modern world without the risk of their flowing again in actual fact. We all need to comprehend the genetic forces of medieval systematic philosophy, political theory, and literary genre which could provide cultural continuity for our time and help destroy the myth of total break which the alluring figures of Luther, Voltaire, and Marx have created. Nor should we avoid the corollary of culture contrast, which selects from the continuum of history a period near enough to help us understand our own institutions and far enough to provide a touchstone for self-criticism—a period no better and possibly no worse than our own, which provides one of the best areas in the university to acquire what Ruth Benedict calls "that degree of sophistication where we no longer set our own belief over against our neighbour's superstition." The Middle Ages can be approached, in other words, both genetically and anthropologically. It cannot be approached either way by narrow specialists or by young teachers who lack the breadth of knowledge which allows one to select wisely. Courses like the one covered in this syllabus are rare because they are hard to work out. One has to reject more than he includes. Professor Loomis is generous in allowing teachers elsewhere to peer into his laboratory, and in offering us the results of an experiment which could provide us with the one thriving comparative literature course in the college catalogue—potentially thriving because its own exponents are bred out of parochialism of language and subject matter at the very outset of their careers.

FRANCIS LEE UTLEY

Ohio State University

Rollo, Duke of Normandy, or The Bloody Brother: A Tragedy. Attributed to John Fletcher, George Chapman, Ben Jonson, and Philip Massinger. Edited by J. D. JUMP. Liverpool: University Press of Liverpool, 1948. Pp. 107. 15s.

Rollo, Duke of Normandy, or The Bloody Brother was one of the last plays on which John Fletcher worked. Typical of the sensational drama which he and his collaborators perfected, this tragedy was popular from 1624, the year in which it was probably written, to the closing of the theaters, and again, in spite of Rymer's strictures, in the period of the Restoration. Mr. J. D. Jump has done an admirably thorough edition of *Rollo* based on the second quarto (1640), which he shows to be the most authoritative text. He has taken exceptional care with the recording of variant readings, and has wisely allowed himself the freedom of accepting an occasional reading from the first quarto where the second quarto is demonstrably corrupt. In the introduction there is a concise discussion of the problems of textual authority, source, authorship, and date. Mr.

Jump summarizes everything that scholars have found out about the sources of the play but makes no attempt to answer one question which may have some bearing on the whole procedure of collaboration: how did Fletcher and Massinger happen to transfer the action of a story found in Roman history to ninth-century Normandy? One is tempted to guess that the new historical setting was provided by Massinger. However this may be, Mr. Jump's extensive reëxamination of *Rollo* against the background of Stuart drama satisfactorily determines which portions of the play were written by Massinger and which by Fletcher. The evidence for the more tentative ascriptions of scenes to Chapman and Jonson is also persuasive. The inclusion of a detailed commentary in addition to the introduction makes this a most useful edition for all students of Fletch-erian drama.

EUGENE M. WAITH

Yale University

The Poems of William Habington. Edited by KENNETH ALLOTT. Liverpool: The University Press, 1948. Pp. lxxviii + 208. 15s.

This edition of the poetry of William Habington is one of the Liverpool English Texts and Studies currently being issued under the general editorship of L. C. Martin. It is the first modern publication of Habington since 1870, the *Castara* having been issued in that year by Edward Arber in the *English Reprints*.

The position of L. C. Martin as supervisory editor is enough to assure the high calibre of the scholarship in this volume. The obvious need for a new edition of Habington has now been met and in what would seem to be a definitive manner. Fortunately, too, the physical quality of the bookmaking, so often shoddy in these times, is adequate.

For the modern reader of anthologies Habington is a poet of one lyric ("Nox nocti indicat Scientiam"), and even to scholars he is likely to be not much better known. It would be hard to say that such neglect is unjust. It would perhaps be even more difficult to explain his considerable reputation in his own century (*Castara* went through three editions in its author's lifetime). For he continued in *Castara* the exploded Petrarchanism of the 1590's, and he did this all too frequently in the impossible form of his seven-couplet sonnets. He is, in addition, highly derivative (of Donne and Shakespeare, especially) and frequently uninspired.

Despite all this, Habington is, for at least two reasons, worthy of study. It is impossible to read more than a half-dozen of his lyrics without becoming convinced that even a minor seventeenth-century poet, no matter how flat, was never incompetent. His poetry, as Mr. Allott declares in his admirable introduction, was too often a "poetry of statement," but technically he knew his craft. Like Ben Jonson, Crashaw, Bishop King, and Marvell he knew how to weight the tetrameter line to a stately march whereas with the nineteenth-century poets it minces. And despite Dryden's neglect, he wrote pentameter couplets with a poised and aphoristic balance which might well have earned him the master's homage.

For the historian of ideas, too, Habington should hold some interest. He was a descendant of a notably Catholic family whose uncle was hanged and whose

father was imprisoned for implication in the Babington plot. His own Catholicism was consistent and well-known. Yet his poetry, unlike that of his contemporary, Crashaw, was scarcely touched by his faith. This argues neither insincerity nor weakness on Habington's part. It merely testifies to the completeness with which Catholicism as a cultural entity had been removed from the English scene in his time. Crashaw, as T. S. Eliot has observed, was primarily a European; Habington was primarily an English country gentleman.

MICHAEL F. MOLONEY

Marquette University

The Court Wits of the Restoration: An Introduction. By JOHN HAROLD WILSON. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948. Pp. x + 264. \$4.00.

Every once in a while a scholarly work appears of which we can say, "Now that's done." Such a work is Wilson's *Court Wits of the Restoration*. Too often works of this sort are as informative and as readable as the telephone directory. Wilson's book is worth reading for its style alone. It is a rare combination of definitive treatment and pleasant reading.

"Designed to present a unified study of the human and literary activities of the coterie," the book views the Wits as exactly what they were, a group of which each, "to some degree at least, spoke for the group" as much as for himself. Whether painting the town red, writing, or handing down appraisals of conduct or art, none of the Wits was genius enough to be or feel alone or to be isolated from the others by excellence of feeling or attainment.

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; Henry Guy; Sir Fleetwood Shepherd; Sir George Etherege; Henry Killigrew; Henry Bulkeley; Sir Charles Sedley; John Vaughan, Earl of Carbery; William Wycherly; Henry Savile; Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset; John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester; John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave; and Sir Carr Scroope—these, in order of birth, were the Court Wits, flourishing from about 1665 to 1680. Wilson begins his treatment of the group with an essay on their common background and haunts, their leadership in fashions of thought and dress, and their literary attitudes. He shows us the wits in private life as a "raffish fraternity, who fought duels, made love not wisely but too much, and engaged in riots and debauches, yet . . . were never devils of indecency." He demonstrates that in public life the Wits held a variety of positions which demanded serious effort and sometimes responsibility. But they left their mark as "writers of familiar letters, lyrics, satires, plays and criticisms." These several genres form the divisions of the bulk of the book. Wilson shows us under each the way the Wits worked, their stated purposes, and the effects of their writing.

Wilson has organized all this material so clearly that the reader never forgets where he is in the plan or where he is going. Moreover, the author never loses sight either of the circle which fostered these writings or of the spirit of the age which fostered the circle—"a strange and wonderful epoch, when statesmen were expected to be farceurs." Thus he points out:

Of some sixty-six poets who had one or more plays produced in London between 1660 and 1685, at least twenty can be classed as "persons of Honour" and

amateurs. Two of them were dukes, four were earls, one was a viscount, and the others were knights and esquires. No wonder that Shadwell, a professional poet, complained in his first play about "Gentlemen of £5,000 a year" who wrote plays and so staked their reputations for no gain "as poets venture their reputations against a sum of money." The amateurs were bad for business.

Wilson has both synthesized an enormous body of material about a group and a period, and selected with artistry. Moreover, he is never chary of passing on his well-considered evaluations. John Vaughan, for example, "was a Court Wit more by virtue of rank and patronage than by achievement in literature"; Sedley's *The Happy Pair* is "drearily didactic"; and his *Mulberry Garden* is "in wretched blank verse—tedious and not brief."

Wilson has also made the book particularly usable by providing a full and accurate index, separating explanatory and bibliographical footnotes, listing the works frequently cited, and appending outline biographies, which in their conciseness, arrangement, and materials surpass those of the *DNB*. Physically, the book is also a model. With a most readable type face, a satisfying arrangement of type on the page, and fourteen elegant half-tone portraits, it is most attractive.

And with all this is Wilson's own wit. *Love in a Tub* is

an *olla-podrida* of plots, humours, escapades, and merry, bawdy songs. There is a serious "love and honour" plot (done in heroic couplets) which is built on a conventional, almost algebraic pattern. A loves B, B loves A; C also loves A, and D loves C. With much hocus-pocus, fine sentiment, and honor debates, the letters are jumbled about until the author comes up triumphantly with AB and CD. Multiplication, of course, is expected to follow.

Again, plays "were attended by idle courtiers, officials, members of Parliament, bureaucrats, aspiring tradesmen, country gentlemen, ladies, prostitutes, and Mr. Pepys." And another: the gentry, "perforce, became intimately acquainted with the Bible, which influenced their style of writing, if not of living."

With all his thorough penetration of the materials and excellence of composition, however, Wilson is too honest to persuade us to read the Wits much beyond Wycherly, "who drifted quietly through an unhappy life, hardly aware of his greatness." And we are left with the impression that, although the Wits may not be greatly witty in themselves, they are the cause that wit is in Wilson.

ALBERT HOWARD CARTER

University of Arkansas

Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works, and Discoveries of Martinus Scriblerus. Edited by CHARLES KERBY-MILLER. New Haven: Published for Wellesley College by Yale University Press, 1950. Pp. ix + 408. \$5.00.

At long last students have been provided with a complete and accurate text of the *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*. "More than one hundred and forty years have gone by," Mr. Kerby-Miller reminds us, "since the public was offered an edition with an unmutated text," a surprising fact when one considers the fame of the six men who collaborated on the *Memoirs*—Arbuthnot, Pope, Swift, Gay, Parnell, and the Earl of Oxford. The editions of Roscoe (1824), Courthope (1886), and Aitken (1892) were unsatisfactory, both because of their omission on moral grounds of the Double Mistress episode and because of their

editors' careless and perfunctory handling of the explanatory notes. The sole appearance of the work in this century was in the *Satires and Personal Writings of Jonathan Swift* (O.S.A., 1932), in which the editor, W. A. Eddy, chose to print but one half of the text and was more than sparing with annotations.

Mr. Kerby-Miller has properly followed the 1742 text, the last to appear in Pope's lifetime, and has not been content merely to accumulate the annotations of his predecessors. His fresh, painstaking, and exhaustive study of the *Memoirs* has yielded some 175 pages of explanatory notes to the 80 pages of text. Since these notes are in smaller type than the *Memoirs*, the ratio of notes to text is, perhaps, three to one. For each chapter he has provided a general expository note, or short essay, before giving the specific annotations, which, if my count is correct, total four hundred and seventy-eight for the *Introduction*, the sixteen chapters, and the *Advertisement*. These data I cite approvingly, for the *Memoirs* were difficult enough to read with understanding when they first appeared, and their many topical allusions and satiric import have become increasingly cloudy with each passing generation. It was high time that such a definitive study as Mr. Kerby-Miller's was made; it is fortunate that it was done by one as thorough and unpedantic as he, for—this certainly is one test of good annotation—most of his notes can be read by themselves with pleasure as well as profit.

After editing and carefully annotating the text of the *Memoirs*, Mr. Kerby-Miller had one more task to accomplish, one which, it is quite evident, he was bearing in mind during his close and detailed textual study: to relate the work to its wider "cultural and intellectual milieu." This task involved, first, a study of the complex relationships of the six Scriblerian collaborators, and then an examination of their "projects" in the context of contemporary personalities, parties, movements, and learning. Considering the difficulties inherent in such an undertaking, he has explained well these "relative bearings" in his eighty-four page *Preface*. While references to the Scriblerus Club and its products abound in the studies made of individual club members and in the more general treatments of early eighteenth-century literary England, there has long been wanting a work which would locate the parts in this puzzling Scriblerus area and map the surroundings.

The introductory essay on backgrounds, the text of the *Memoirs*, the comprehensive notes, the six appendices (containing interesting sidelights), and the excellent index make up a work to which henceforth students may confidently refer for answers to their questions about Martinus Scriblerus. Some, it is to be hoped, will turn to it for the pleasure of reading a witty satire concocted by "the most celebrated association of clever fellows this country ever saw."

The work is not without its faults, as, I am sure, Mr. Kerby-Miller would be the first to admit. A remark made by one Scriblerian, Swift, in his famous letter of September 29, 1725, to another, Pope, about a third, Arbuthnot, will express the temper of my few adverse comments: "—our Doctor has every quality and virtue that can make a man amiable or useful; but, alas! he has a sort of slouch in his walk." Now and then the editor's phrasing is not of the happiest. "Most perfect" is one of several examples which could be cited (p. 81). To call Roscoe (1824) and Courthope (1886) "mid-nineteenth-century editors" of the *Memoirs* (p. 299) is to stretch the "middle" to 62 per cent of the whole. I doubt whether anyone, be he editor or midwife, can refer with accuracy to one of Siamese twins as "the elder" (p. 296). Mr. Kerby-Miller would have done better, I think, had he translated all questionable dates into New Style calendar designations. He chose to use the double-year-with-slant system and has not carried it out con-

sistently in all cases (e.g., pp. 23, 36, 43, 52, 55, 56). It is true that the Treaty of Utrecht was signed on "March 31, o.s." (p. 14), but historians generally have agreed in using April 11 for the date. Such slight defects, however, constitute no more than a "slouch" in this "amiable and useful" work.

DONALD CORNU

University of Washington

Shelley's Major Poetry: The Fabric of a Vision. By CARLOS BAKER. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948. Pp. 307. \$5.00.

Professor Baker's objects in this study, as he states them in the introduction, are three: to present new research material; to "provide revised interpretations of the major poems"; and to "trace Shelley's development through a ten year period" (1812-1822).

Of the research projects the most ambitious is that on *Julian and Maddalo*. Baker, following Havens, believes that the madman episode in that poem represents material intended by Shelley for his projected play on Tasso, the madman being Tasso and the abusive lady the Princess Leonora. He rejects Newman I. White's view that the episode echoes a tragic quarrel between Shelley and Mary. There is no external evidence to support Baker's theory—which he presents as a now to be accepted fact of Shelley scholarship (pp. 127, 131)—and the parallels to Tasso's life on which he relies, although possibly revealing echoes from Byron's *Lament of Tasso*, are not, in my judgment, adequate to sustain it. Nor is the rejection of the autobiographical interpretation convincing.

The two other major research projects, on *Queen Mab* and *The Revolt of Islam*, are more satisfactory, bringing out new evidence of the indebtedness of the former to eighteenth-century moral allegory and of the latter to Zoroastrianism. Unfortunately, however, the research has been allowed too greatly to govern the interpretation, with the result that one gets the impression that *Queen Mab* is itself a moral allegory and *The Revolt of Islam* a Zoroastrian narrative. In addition to these projects, there is a good deal of new background material in other chapters, especially from Spenser and Milton.

In the interpretative sections, the approach is governed by Baker's over-all view of Shelley as a literary intellectual analyzing psychological states. This approach results in interesting new insights into too-little explored facets of the poems, but it frequently results also in onesidedness. Thus, for instance, *Eipsy-chidion* is treated exclusively as an exposition of Platonic psychology (its meaning ultimately revealed in the form of an equation). *Prometheus Unbound* is presented as a static complex of minds within minds, a concept which at times comes close to unintelligibility:

Prometheus is not a "character" at all but rather an image of the mind of man. By the same token, Jupiter and Asia are ideas in the mind of Prometheus, although one should not speak of the "mind of Prometheus" without remembering that in philosophical terms the designation is inexact, since Prometheus himself is *mind*, that is, the human mind seen in its universal aspect. (p. 112)

In the treatment of these and other poems one has the impression of a striving for novelty of approach at the expense of totality or perspective. At other times the interpretation is less new than one would gather from the text or notes, the previous work of Grabo and White, in particular, not receiving sufficient recog-

dition. One of the most rewarding chapters is that on the political poems where—in *The Mask of Anarchy* and *Swellfoot the Tyrant* receive something of the appreciative exposition they deserve. On the other hand, one of the main areas of weakness is in the treatment of the autobiographical and semi-autobiographical poems, for Baker determinedly shuts his eyes to the confessional element in Shelley, an element which, however much we may at times regret it, nevertheless exists and must be considered.

A good deal of space is devoted to Shelley's development and to what Baker rather obscurely calls the "psyche-epipsyche strategy." The difference between this "psyche-epipsyche strategy" and the old concept of Shelley's search for the ideal is never satisfactorily defined nor is the difference between the so-called "amoral necessity" of *Prometheus Unbound* and the earlier necessity of *Queen Mab*. The final point of development, beyond *Prometheus Unbound* to *Adonais*, the essence of which Baker sees in the unity of Love and Eternity ("Asia and Demogorgon") in the latter poem, seems to me to indicate difference of treatment in different types of poems rather than a genuine development.

One of the more useful aspects of the study is its bibliographical reference to recent scholarship. Here, the field is covered fairly adequately, but the failure to note some items has led to error. Baker is apparently unaware of Notopoulos' article on the dating of Shelley's prose, and his acceptance of earlier views invalidates some of his reasoning on Shelley's development. His speculations on "Shelley's plans for a long poem called *The Creator*," a theory advanced by Dowden, are irrelevant, because, as Elizabeth Nitchie and Newman I. White have demonstrated, Shelley had no such plans. Dowden's error arose from a misreading of "cicala" for "creator."

KENNETH NEILL CAMERON

Indiana University

George Eliot: Her Mind and Her Art. By JOAN BENNETT. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. xvi + 203. \$3.00.

An engagingly modest critic, Mrs. Bennett has produced three brief studies in which quotations rather monotonously interrupt the flow of sensitive comment. Her range is impressive. Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, and Crashaw (*Four Metaphysical Poets*, 1934), those prisoners of the abstract in the concrete, gave way to a novelist (*Virginia Woolf*, 1945) who scorned abstractions and recorded the fleeting impressions life makes on individual consciousnesses. And now Mrs. Woolf, with her fluid patterns "of sequences rather than consequences," has yielded place to a Midland carpenter's granddaughter—to a woman who was not afraid to play the grim game of consequences in life and in fiction. Morally bewildered persons are not likely to mistake the subtle and anaemic impressionism of Bloomsbury for a pillar of fire. Of the Victorian, however, it can be ventured that "no English novelist . . . has more to offer the modern reader," because she faced our own problem of "how to preserve valuable moral attitudes . . . once closely associated with dogma."

The title suggests that Mrs. Bennett is interested in George Eliot's mind. Indeed, some seventy pages are devoted to "The Formative Years: Intellectual

and Emotional Development." A conventional account of the Coventry period of release from religious dogma is matched by an equally conventional account of the London period of agnosticism, meliorism, and humanity. Strauss, Spinoza, and Comte turn up, as do certain more tangible men—Charles Bray, the anti-volitionist; Charles Hennell, the anti-supernaturalist; Dr. Brabant, the anti-dogmatist; and, of course, that friendly brace of rationalists, Herbert Spencer and George Henry Lewes. I find no evidence that Mrs. Bennett has read what Madeleine Cazamian, E. J. Pond, Ingeborg Tegnér, Minoru Toyoda, and Ben Euwema have to say about the influence of religion, science, and philosophy on George Eliot. The more recent discussion lacks both the incisive originality and the ability to relate ideas to fiction which appear in Professor Euwema's *Development of George Eliot's Ethical and Social Theories*.

What actually stimulates Mrs. Bennett's interest is not the mind of *une femme positive* but that almost sibylline combination of thought, emotion, and experience, the novelist's "vision of life." The critic's purpose is perhaps best expressed in an earlier volume: "This book is about Virginia Woolf's vision of human life, and it is about her sense of values, and it attempts to analyse the form of her novels," to discover "how she sees and feels and composes." To this congenial task Mrs. Bennett brings her fine understanding of the creative temperament, her intelligent reading, and her lucidity of presentation. As for George Eliot's vision, it is that people are rooted in communities. In the slow progress of the human race from dogmatic supernaturalism to altruistic realism, certain individuals, either through their strength or weakness, are bound to clash tragically with local mores. Because morality is relative in a utilitarian sense to the total happiness and suffering set in motion by each act, every human problem is unique. In a changing world, the conflict between assertiveness and submission, between self and selflessness, becomes so confused that judgment must be cautious and, above all, compassionate.

As she conducts the reader through George Eliot's novels, Mrs. Bennett is at her best; her pronouncements consistently ring true. The abundance, power, and humor of the somewhat faulty early novels, *Adam Bede* and *The Mill on the Floss*, are constricted in the pleasing legendry of *Silas Marner* and are almost extinguished under the weight—the laboriousness—of *Romola*. After she had schematized *Felix Holt* but before she lost her way in the factitiously related plots of *Daniel Deronda*, George Eliot came back into her own in *Middlemarch*. This masterpiece, "her widest and deepest study in the interpenetration between the life of a community and the individual lives that compose it," has a mature unity which "grows out of the author's singleness of vision." Although Mrs. Bennett's quotations from *Middlemarch* lack the color and creative exuberance of passages cited from the earlier novels, I have no quarrel with the contemporary swing of critical favor to this sober but impressive fictional structure.

COLEMAN O. PARSONS

City College of New York

The Maryland Germans. By DIETER CUNZ. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948. Pp. xi + 476. \$5.00.

This very detailed work will impress both the scholar and the layman because of its clear chronological order and its thorough documentation. In contrast to another historical study (on the Pennsylvania Germans) issued previously by the same press, this volume does not merely trace the growth and development of a given group of Germans, but rather of all the Germans, in general, who chose the state of Maryland for their home. Professor Cunz has appropriately divided the history into three parts: Part One, The Colonial Period, 1640-1790; Part Two, The Middle Ages of Immigration, 1790-1865; Part Three, The Last Generations, 1865-1940. The most noticeable impulse behind all German immigration seems to have been the search for freedom. A desperate longing for political, religious, and economic freedom drove people to risk their lives at sea, or to consign themselves to unknown masters as indentured servants, in order that they might eventually stand as "a free people on free soil" and there create a new society in keeping with their ideals. The basic freedom which each of the three groups most fervently desired could be found only in America, but it was not to be gained by migration alone, for only through long bitter struggles did they learn the truth that has been so aptly defined in Goethe's words: "Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben, der täglich sie erobern muß!" Each of the three periods, as outlined by Professor Cunz, bears a final subtitle emphasizing the word "war," and in each case the struggle was concerned with the defense of human liberties.

The state of Maryland represents more perfectly than any other the merging of these successive, but rather divergent, groups of Germans into a part of what is peculiarly, almost indefinitely, known as the American people. The geographical importance of Maryland in all periods of American history has accentuated the contributions of the German elements there, and Professor Cunz has excellently illuminated such features as have been of special historical significance. In so doing, he has dealt with leading personalities among the Germans, particularly those concerned with the churches and the newspapers, both of which were spearheads of education and culture. He demonstrates the fusion of people and ideas (as achieved by such personalities) by introducing a solid mass of facts, figures, and footnotes. Additional information is then given in an appendix, which is followed by a copious bibliography.

What many people will miss in the book, despite its scholarly perfection, is an element of personal warmth that might have been provided by a less casual treatment of actual living conditions among the Maryland Germans. Perhaps the source material is too refined, and the present treatment may be too much a reflection of archives and official reports. At any rate, there remains a great deal more to be written about the customs, dwellings, speech, and attitudes of the people—things which one may not learn readily in books and libraries, but more satisfactorily by field work. It is obvious that the author is eminently capable of such an exposition, for even here an occasional episode (e.g., the account of the Amish influx from Pennsylvania) contrasts brilliantly with the rest of the book, in that it reveals most vividly the nature and spirit of the doughty people who have come to be the backbone of Maryland civilization. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the author will later feel prompted to effect a rapprochement with the Pennsylvania German historians who, I fear, are frequently tempted to lean too far the other way at the expense of more scholarly objectives.

University of Washington

CARROLL E. REED

Motivation in the Drama of Friedrich Hebbel. By WILLIAM F. OECHLER. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1948. Pp. viii + 199. \$2.50.

The purpose of Oechler's study is to analyze the motivation in Hebbel's major dramas of each important character's action from the point of view of psychological reality and symbolical significance and to determine whether Hebbel has managed a congruent blending of the two aspects of motivation. "Congruity of 'Idee' and 'Bild'" is, for Oechler, "the measuring-stick of a well-drawn character" (p. 118). The method pursued is to examine minutely the action of each character to discover first, whether it is psychologically credible and realistic, then, whether it reflects the "'necessity' of his stature as a symbol" (p. vii). A summary for each character to establish whether there is congruent blending of the two aspects follows the exhaustive analyses. This method must, perforce, submerge the reader in a flood of reiteration in plot detail, character analysis, and substantiating quotations.

The one-dimensional aspect of this clinical study obviates the necessity of applying other critical values to the dramas of Hebbel but makes inevitable a certain flatness and lack of perspective in the picture presented. The measuring-stick fails to distinguish clearly between immature and mature plays, though Oechler may declare categorically that *Herodes and Mariamne* is the greatest of Hebbel's dramas (p. 65) and Agnes his most charming woman character (p. 100). One finds congruence in immature plays (in the characters of Judith and Holofernes) and a lack of it in mature ones (in the characters of Albrecht and Kandaules). The failure to emphasize the psychological unreality in so many of Hebbel's characters is serious. This reviewer felt great reluctance to accept the statement that "Hebbel has drawn here [in Holofernes] a credibly realistic personality" (p. 15), and the validity of the following comparison is open to question: "In the final estimation of the psychological reality of Holofernes' character, we must bear in mind the fact that critics often find him 'overdrawn' or 'excessive.' One might raise the same complaint against Faust or Zarathustra" (p. 15). Such a faulty comparison, implying that all projected Titans or supermen attain the same lofty stature, is all the more surprising since earlier in the study the author himself recognizes the immaturity of *Judith* by claiming that to criticize this early work for what it lacks "would be tantamount to criticizing *Götz von Berlichingen* as being representative of the same intellect which produced the second part of *Faust*" (p. 3).

Oechler shows wide familiarity with earlier representative Hebbel studies and reflects particularly heavy reliance on those with a psychological bias. He is uncommonly punctilious in acknowledging sources, even to the extent of accrediting commonplaces of literary criticism and referring to secondary sources for ideas that could be substantiated by direct reference to the text and would be patent to the careful reader of the plays. Conspicuously absent from an otherwise quite representative bibliography are such works as Klaus Ziegler's *Mensch und Welt in der Tragödie Fr. Hebbels* (Berlin, 1938) which reflect the modern metaphysical speculation so characteristic of more recent German critics. Such an omission is natural since Oechler does not deviate seriously from the traditional, conventional line in Hebbel scholarship which Ziegler criticizes, censuring particularly the monotonous habit of referring to Hebbel's theoretical reflections and of accepting Hebbel's claim that the dialectical, evolutionary, historical concept is the core of his tragedies. (This, Ziegler believes, plays only a peripheral role in spite of Hebbel's avowed intentions, *op. cit.*, p. 185). Oechler makes

abundant use of the diaries and letters and clings to the evolutionary view, demonstrating how some of the disunity in motivation resulted from the shift in Hebbel's conceptions. Some of the most interesting discussion occurs in the chapter on *Agnes Bernauer*, where more independent judgment and more general evaluations are found than elsewhere. It is rather difficult to discover why two additional chapters were added to the study on motivation: "Hebbel's Interest in the Subconscious" (much of it incorporated in the study proper) and "History and the Individual" (comparing Hebbel's treatment of the individual with Schiller's and Grillparzer's).

The style of this study would have been strengthened by some pruning to eliminate unnecessary repetition, an over-abundance of easily translatable German expressions, and awkward phraseology. Footnotes were relegated to the back of the book, which made checking of the references tedious.

A. M. SAUERLANDER

University of Washington

The Dream in Gerhart Hauptmann. By JOHN JACOB WEISERT. New York: King's Crown Press, 1949. Pp. 120. \$2.25.

Gerhart Hauptmann and Goethe. By SIEGFRIED H. MULLER. New York: King's Crown Press, 1949. Pp. 113. \$2.50.

These two monographs, thoughtful studies in significant phases of Hauptmann's work, are not only creditable performances by two young scholars but a very tangible expression of the many years of Hauptmann research sponsored and stimulated by Professor F. W. J. Heuser, whose indefatigable enthusiasm and scholarly interest have made him a leader in this field. Over the years Professor Heuser has directed dozens of such investigations as "Seminarübungen" and Master's theses besides publishing his own research. Even after retirement—at least on a partial basis—his influence and guiding hand are clearly discernible in these studies.

The appearance of these volumes is exemplary. I know of no other series of published dissertations that is so attractive in format and typography as the Columbia University Studies published by a subsidiary of that University Press.

The Dream in Gerhart Hauptmann deals with a vital and fruitful subject that touches the heart of the poet's creative processes. No other modern writer has depended so completely upon intuitive and almost subconscious motivation as has Hauptmann. This study (eight chapters and a summary) begins with a historical survey of dream interpretation through the ages with some emphasis upon Freudian and post-Freudian contributions. Herder and the Romanticists' dream world proclaimed the "Märchen" as a new form of literary activity in which fantasy has complete freedom of artistic expression. For Hauptmann this realm became as important as the psychological analysis of religious and mystical ecstasy revealed to him by Forel at Zurich. Biographical and autobiographical data of Hauptmann's earlier years furnish ample raw material ranging from the idle daydreaming of childhood to more detailed studies of early memories and recollections described in the *Abenteuer meiner Jugend*. But most significant is that section of the study which concerns itself with the use of the dream motif on the stage and in those grandiose visionary epics in which idyllic

reveries alternate with apocalyptic revelations. The dream experience for Hauptmann projects an intermediate realm somewhere between life and death in which harmony and full self-realization are possible. There, as in the dream island of Leuke, "Du hast des Schlafs, des Traumes kleine Weißen, des Todes Weißen sind der größere Preis."

The nature of a doctoral dissertation, which should be an exercise in research methods that gives proof of an ability to collect, collate, and interpret literary material, demands an emphasis upon factual details. Especially on a topic where the difficulties of the subjective nature of the theme could easily lead far afield, restraint and a somewhat prosaic approach are really commendable. Almost thirty years ago Nesta M. Thompson published a study on *Naturalism and the Dream Motive as Observed in the Works of Gerhart Hauptmann* (Washington University Studies, Humanistic Series, 1920), but what a wealth of material has become available since then! Hermann Schreiber's stimulating study, *Gerhart Hauptmann und das Irrationale* (Aichkirchen, 1946), which touches upon this very theme, apparently reached the author too late for consideration. An almost identical treatment of Weisert's theme, judging at least from the title, is a Swiss dissertation *Der Traum in Gerhart Hauptmanns Leben und Schaffen* (Fribourg, 1948) by Helmuth Gutknecht, which is not yet in print, but bears witness to the keen interest in such a subject and to its importance for a fuller and more complete understanding of the nonrational elements in Hauptmann's later writings.

It is regrettable that the definitive edition of 1942 was not made the basis for all quotations from the work of Hauptmann. By 1947 it had reached many American libraries, and had Weisert had access to it before his work went to press, it would have eliminated any dependence upon secondary sources. Only one misprint caught my eye, "sowile" instead of "sowie" (p. 43, footnote 29).

Muller, in his study *Gerhart Hauptmann and Goethe*, set himself the task of tracing "Hauptmann's contacts with Goethe's personality and works, by evolving a picture of Hauptmann's concept of Goethe, the man and his work, by pointing out examples of Goethe's influence on Hauptmann's writings, and by analyzing those compositions by both authors which deal with related subjects, indicating similarities and suggesting reasons for them" (p. 4). The subject is an appealing one, though it is perhaps too ambitious in view of the mass of material involved. Hauptmann frankly and frequently acknowledged his indebtedness to Goethe and spoke of him as "großer Lehrer an meiner Seite," but influences, conscious or unconscious, expressed or implied, are sometimes highly elusive. Muller proceeds with a practical consideration of Hauptmann's contacts with the personality and work of Goethe as revealed in the *Abenteuer meiner Jugend*, supplemented by other available data. After a chapter on "Hauptmann's Concept of Goethe," based primarily upon three Goethe addresses delivered in 1922, 1928, and 1932 respectively, there follows the central part of this study: detailed analyses and discussions of Hauptmann's dramatic, epic, and poetic works as influenced by Goethe. Particularly the influence of *Faust* is stressed, and *Die versunkene Glocke*, *Till Eulenspiegel*, and *Der neue Christophorus* are brought into direct relationship through parallels and similarities in motifs, language, and treatment. Appended are ten pages of Goethe quotations and echoes identifiable in Hauptmann's writings. Such a compilation gives proof of long and arduous searching and researching. It deserves praise, and yet it is an ungrateful task, for completeness is virtually impossible, and every student of Hauptmann

who misses a favorite quotation will be disappointed. I checked the *Arme Heinrich* and missed any reference to the following quotations that might be included with equal propriety: "Friede! kehre her zu mir"; "Sursum corda"; "die ganze Welt ward ihm vergällt"; "und die in der Irre rastlos streben, sind auf gutem Weg."

This monograph is a valuable addition to Hauptmann knowledge, but its extensive factual content demands a continuation of the study, with a little more emphasis on the interpretative side. The summarizing conclusions of barely two and one-half pages only scratch the surface in a comprehensive analysis of Hauptmann's inner relationship to Goethe. Perhaps a dissertation does not afford the best opportunity for such an interpretative study, but we shall hope that with this material at hand, such a work may still follow.

Here and there in the narrative are rather obvious or trivial statements. For example, on page 35 the similarities in the final scenes of *Magnus Garbe* and *Faust I* are presented so inadequately as to sound absurd: "both Felicia . . . and Gretchen are incarcerated in chains soon after childbirth . . . both dramas take place in the sixteenth century and shortly before the execution of the heroines. The excruciating anguish drives both captives insane, and they sing while in fetters." On page 68 the sentence, "The autobiographical element is not so predominant in Goethe's epic (*Hermann und Dorothea*) as it is in *Anna*," is a masterpiece of understatement. The only typographical slip that I found is in the bibliography (p. 107) where the name "Pfeiffer" is given as "Peifer."

WALTER A. REICHART

University of Michigan

Strandgut des Lebens. Poems by FRANZ KARL MOHR. Richmond, Virginia: Dietz Press, 1948. Pp. 55.

It is touching that Franz Karl Mohr has brought his pleasant poetic gift safely over to these shores, and that he continues to practice it in an environment which, for linguistic reasons, is bound to be unresponsive. Yet his talent seems to feed on his old home-country, Bohemia, and it is from this scenic and human background that he derives his most felicitous inspirations. The poems which evoke the memory of the "Heimat," and which he collects under the heading "Melancholia," have a true ring and impart a warmth which is lacking in other parts of the collection. Their spontaneity and genuineness make up for the contrived and pseudo-archaic attitude in the group "Ahnenwelt" which discredits an otherwise pleasant and lively poetic expressiveness.

OSKAR SEIDLIN

Ohio State University

Grandes Novelistas de la América Hispana. By ARTURO TORRES-RIOSECO. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949. Pp. xiv + 206. \$4.00.

New World Literature: Tradition and Revolt in Latin America. By ARTURO TORRES-RIOSECO. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949. Pp. v + 250. \$3.75.

Rubén Darío: Antología Poética: Selección, Estudio Preliminar, Cronología, Notas y Glosario de ARTURO TORRES-RIOSECO. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949. Pp. xxxviii + 294. \$3.00.

The University of California Press has made a notable contribution to scholarship by publishing in a single year three books by the distinguished critic and poet, Arturo Torres-Rioseco, professor of Latin-American literature at Berkeley, California.

In the first of the three books under review we find reprinted in one volume two earlier books: *Seis Novelistas de la Tierra* (1941) and *Seis Novelistas de la Ciudad* (1943). These twelve critical studies of the outstanding novelists of Spanish America, six of them concerned mainly with rural life and six with life in the cities, have long since gained for their author a definite place in Spanish-American scholarship; their reappearance in a single volume will add new readers to the many who have already read them with pleasure and profit.

The second of the books listed above brings to mind an earlier book by the same author, *The Epic of Latin American Literature* (Oxford Press, 1942), made up of six essays on the main trends of literature in Latin America, the social and political background of these trends, and their outstanding representatives. The unifying theme of the first five of these essays is the long, vacillating struggle for literary independence in Spanish America; the early forward surge, the retreat and stagnation of the late colonial period, the steady advance of the nineteenth century, and the attainment of the goal in the twentieth; this is the "epic" of Spanish-American literary history.

New World Literature follows a similar pattern and the periodic divisions are much the same; nevertheless, there is little repetition, for the reason that, the objective being different, the attention is focused on other aspects of the literary trends. The author's purpose, as stated in the Introduction, is "the interpretation of the spiritual values of America" (p. 19), its literature serving as the best approach to the understanding of the "Spanish American man," as viewed "in the light of his aesthetic attitude toward life" (p. 1).

The first two chapters, the "Introduction" and the "Colonial Culture in America," present in general survey the main characteristics of Spanish-American literature and the establishment of Spanish culture on the indigenous foundation of Aztec, Mayan, and Inca civilizations. A Chilean by birth and early education, Professor Torres-Rioseco resists the tendency of some recent Spanish-American writers to overemphasize the indigenous inheritance and to belittle the cultural contributions of Spain. "Spain gave us its blood, and that still courses through our veins. Spain gave us its spirit, and with it we have built a new world, in which we live with dignity and pride . . . and if at times there appears in us a spark of the madness of the *conquistador*, we are proud of that madness too" (p. 38). Frequent comparisons are made with Anglo-American literature, the differences being accounted for by differences of racial cultures. In the last chapter, "The Parallel between Brazilian and Spanish American Literature," the comparative method is applied with more consistent thoroughness.

Four of the eleven chapters develop mainly the theme suggested by the subtitle, *Tradition and Revolt in Latin America*: "Independence and Romanticism" presents the conflict between Spanish culture and the new social and political forces; "The Influence of French Culture," the substitution of France for Spain as the main source of foreign influence; "Social Poetry," a veering away from the pure, dehumanized art of the Modernists, "art for art's sake" to "art for humanity's sake"; "Poetry of the Future," an optimistic prophecy based upon the aspirations and achievements of the past and present.

The four remaining chapters consist of unified essays on four writers whose intrinsic worth or historical importance makes them especially significant: Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, the seventeenth-century nun whose genius gained for her a permanent place in universal literature; José Hernández, whose *Martín Fierro* represents the Gaucho poetry of the Argentine at its best; José Enrique Rodó, the outstanding *modernista* in prose; and Rubén Darío, the best representative of all the literary movements from 1888 to the end of the second decade of the present century.

The Epic of Latin American Literature is still the best introduction to Spanish-American literature; *New World Literature*, more highly specialized, more theoretical and more personal in its reevaluations and discussions of controversial questions, will be best appreciated by those who have already given much attention to the literature of the "Other Americans."

The compiler and editor of the *Antología Poética* was eminently fitted for a task that must have been for him a labor of love. Author of an excellent biography of the poet (*Rubén Darío* [Harvard University Press, 1931]), a poet himself and a critic of long experience, Professor Torres-Rioseco gives us an anthology containing the poetry of Rubén Darío that now seems most likely to resist the ravages of time.

The long introduction, although not strictly a Spanish version of Chapter VII of *New World Literature*, "A Reevaluation of Rubén Darío," was evidently written at about the same time as the aforesaid essay; the material, the personal attitude, and the objective are practically the same. The reputation of Darío, during the thirty years or more since his death in 1916, has been going through a partial eclipse, largely due, according to Torres-Rioseco, to the overemphasis of literary critics upon his early writing and comparative neglect of his later poetry. The chief exponent of Parnassianism, Symbolism, and Modernism, with the passing of these literary fads Darío attempted to free himself from their limitations, and produced the poetry that will ultimately give him a high place in world literature.

He presentado aquí un Darío que pocos conocen. El poeta armonioso y frío de "Prosas Profanos" tiene su lugar bien definido en nuestras letras; el intérprete del alma española ha sido reconocido por la crítica peninsular; por sus cantos civiles, Darío logró ser llamado *el poeta de América*; ha sido estudiado como clásico, romántico y modernista. Este nuevo Darío—a pesar de que es desconocido en este aspecto—todavía puede ser considerado como el poeta más alto del Continente hispano-americano.

Since this reevaluation has determined, for the most part, the editor's choice of poems for his anthology, those of us who have long been familiar with Darío's poetry will miss some of our favorite poems, highly esteemed thirty years ago; we may find compensation in the inclusion of others of perhaps greater intrinsic worth that are not found in the older anthologies.

GEORGE W. UMPHREY

University of Washington

Les Idées de Balzac d'après "La Comédie Humaine." By GEOFFROY ATKINSON. Genève: Librairie Droz; Lille: Librairie Giard, 1949-1950. 5 volumes. Vol. I: Introduction, Psychologie, Passions, Physiologie. Pp. 110. Vol. II: Mœurs, Histoire, Théories métaphysiques et philosophiques, Sciences naturelles, Enfance et Education. Pp. 116. Vol. III: Influences du milieu, Théories politiques, Sentiments religieux, Sciences occultes. Pp. 116. Vol. IV: La morale, Les sentiments politiques. Pp. 116. Vol. V: Sentiments romantiques, Esthétique, Critique littéraire, Conclusions, Appendice. Pp. 136.

In *Les Idées de Balzac d'après "La Comédie Humaine"* we have yet another tribute to Balzac which has appropriately reached completion in this important anniversary year and is worthy both of its author, an eminent American Balzacian, and its subject.

What Professor Atkinson has sought to do in these five compact but well-filled volumes is to extract from the *Comédie Humaine* all Balzac's asides or "digressions," and present them in chronological order within the logical categories of "Psychologie," "Passions," "Mœurs," and so on, with appropriate critical remarks for each category.

It is the illuminating critical comments, the astute classification, and the strict chronological arrangement within each category which make this work so significant. As we know, most of the novels of the *Comédie Humaine* had been written, and published separately at least once, long before they were united under the present title and introduced by the important "Avant-propos." Moreover, since the order in which they appear has no chronological justification either from the point of view of date of composition or date of action of the story, it is only after the prodigious labors of Professor Atkinson that one is able to view these ideas in the order of their conception. In this connection Professor Atkinson has used the order of their *final* publication because, as he says,

Pour nous il importe peu que l'auteur ait fait imprimer une idée pour la première fois à telle ou telle date. Mais il importe beaucoup qu'il n'ait pas rejeté une réflexion, écrite en 1833, à l'époque de la dernière révision de son texte. (I, 14, note 1)

Of the passages themselves he says,

Il nous a semblé essentiel d'étudier cette masse de passages. Balzac tenait tellement à ces digressions qu'il s'interrompait constamment pour nous les faire lire. Et nous les considérerons ici comme si l'autre partie, la partie *roman* n'existait pas. Si nous voulons savoir quelle sorte d'homme était Balzac, cette méthode s'impose, car ce sont là ses *Pensées*, ses *Essais*. (I, 10)

The comparison with Pascal and Montaigne is apropos, and, although the remarks may well be studied apart from their context, it is to Professor Atkinson's credit that this study encourages the reader to return to the original.

Certain parts of the *Comédie* have been purposely set aside. While this is certainly justified in the case of the *Contes drolatiques*, the *Physiologie du mariage*, and the *Petites Misères de la vie conjugale*, since they are primarily "humorous," there seems to be somewhat less justification for omitting the *Mémoires de deux jeunes mariées* and particularly the *Lys dans la Vallée*. However, in view of the general purpose of Professor Atkinson's work we may accept his statement that all five are less directly concerned with the social and moral concept of the *Comédie* than the others.

At the end of each volume of the series is an alphabetical list of the abbreviated titles used at the end of the quotations, together with the full title and the

volume of the Conard and Houssiaux editions in which they appear. This index would be even more valuable if the date, presumably the date of the final revision, of each work could have been included.

Professor Atkinson draws no grandiose conclusions with regard to Balzac's merits as an intellectual critic of his time. Concerning Balzac on the drama, he says, "Il serait difficile de vouloir représenter Balzac comme un important critique dramatique" (V, 97). In connection with Balzac's lack of appreciation for humanistic and classical doctrines, he concludes as follows: "Peut-être vaut-il mieux nous contenter de constater que les idées générales de Balzac sur la littérature ressemblent au scepticisme et à la négation des valeurs permanentes qui caractérisent l'école romantique" (V, 85). And one can hardly object to his subordination of Balzac's humor to his more serious writings.

Finally, there are three salient characteristics which emerge from this systematic consideration of Balzac's remarks. First, Balzac was, as a result of the influence of Bonald and Laménais, more traditionalist than democratic; in fact, his anti-humanitarianism, though regrettable, is constantly in evidence. Second, he was neither logical nor consistent in his utterances, being, in fact, rather gullible, as can be seen in his enthusiasm for the occult. According to Professor Atkinson, this is principally a manifestation of his constant search for absolute truth, the existence of which he did not doubt. Lastly, Balzac's gullibility and especially his enthusiasm tended to blind him to his own defects, such as, for example, the often cited failure to portray virtuous characters as vividly as the vicious ones. Professor Atkinson, however, draws our attention to the fact that had it not been for this vigor we might have had a more balanced but far less effective picture of his era.

PAUL J. KANN

Simmons College

Studies in French Language, Literature, and History: 23 Essays Presented to R. L. Graeme Ritchie. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1949. Pp. xvi + 260. \$4.50.

This is a collection of twenty-three essays in honor of the author of *Recherches sur la syntaxe de la conjonction "Que"*¹ and editor of *The Buik of Alexander*. . . .² Its variety is so great that we shall merely list the essays and comment briefly.

Sainte-Beuve's *Tableau de la Renaissance française au XVI siècle* and Cary's *Early French Poets*. By Ivor D. O. Arnold.

Points out that French Renaissance poetry was appreciated outside France earlier than by the French, and that in some respects Cary, whose essays appeared in the *London Magazine*, 1821-1824, showed a much better understanding of it than did Sainte-Beuve.

On the Origin and History of Three French Words. By Paul Barbier.

Désobstruer, O.F. *laman*, *loman*, Patchouli. By far the most interesting is the second, borrowed, he suggests, from OE *Ladmann*, ME *Lodeman* in the thirteenth century.

¹ Paris, 1907.

² Edinburgh and London, 1921-29 (Scottish Text Society).

Proust and Hardy: Incidence or Coincidence. By L. A. Bisson.

"Hardy, like George Eliot, had his share in Proust's great and composite creation." Stresses probable influence of *The Well-Beloved*.

Napoléon et ses admiratrices britanniques. By J. Dechamps.

Nineteenth-century lady admirers of Napoleon included Queen Victoria!

A Semantic Group in Alpine Romance. By W. D. Elcock.

Urges closer comparison of forms found in Alpine and Pyrenean regions and offers *Ad CORDU (through *ADCORDARE?) as possible common source for Rheto-Rom. *agör*, *adigör*, Arag. *aguerro*, Bearn. *agör*, *abör*, Basque *agör*.

A Bibliography of 18th Century Translations of Voltaire. By H. B. Evans.

Mr. Evans has made a painstaking search of major libraries and of various eighteenth-century magazines, but I note the following omissions (my notes run only through 1753) from the *Gentleman's* (GM) and *London* (LM) magazines:

Vers présentés à la reine sur la seconde élection du roi Stanislas au trône de Pologne, GM, November, 1733

Épître à Frédéric II Roy de Prusse, GM, August, 1740

Nouvelles Considérations sur l'Histoire, GM, August, 1744

Stances à M. Van Haren, GM, January, 1745 (another trans. GM, February, 1747)

A Mme de Pompadour dessinant une tête, GM, April, 1746

Discours de réception, LM, June, 1746

Épître à Mme du Châtelet sur la Philosophie de Newton, LM, September, 1749

Anecdotes sur le czar Pierre le Grand, GM, July, 1750

Anecdotes sur Louis XIV, GM, August-September, 1750

Histoire des Croisades, GM, November, 1750-April, 1751

Zadig (short extract), GM, February, 1751

Letter to Mme Denis (apropos of *Akavia* affair, dated July 9, 1753), GM, November, 1753

Guillaume d'Angleterre. By E. A. Francis.

Suggests the romance was (1) intended to exemplify Cistercian *Humilité*; (2) indebted to Wace's *Brut* and to some of his religious poems; and that (3) it possibly reflects family history, either that of Ascelin Goel d'Ivry or of Ralph of Castle Cary in Somerset.

A Contemporary Dramatist: René Bruyez. By H. J. Hunt.

A summary account of Bruyez' work.

Brûlé de plus de feux. . . By R. C. Knight.

Defends "Pyrrhus in love" in *Andromaque*, since Racine was adapting a Renaissance and French tradition about Achilles.

An Anglo-French Collection of Books in the Royal Malta Library. By Fraser Mackenzie.

Account of a rich eighteenth-century collection at Valletta.

Théophile Gautier et le Dandysme esthétique. By J. M. Milner.

Attempts to define *le Dandysme*—Gautier's doctrine of *l'art pour l'art* was clearly stated and formulated by 1835, in *Mlle de Maupin*.

Textual Problems of the *Lai de l'Ombre*. By John Orr.

Some suggested corrections of Bédier's edition of 1913, based on reexamination of the MSS.

Goethe's Autobiography and Rousseau's *Confessions*. By Roy Pascal.

A suggestive—if short—comparison of the two figures.

Une Amitié entre honnêtes gens, le comte Roger de Bussy-Rabutin, 'Libertin', et le père René Rapin, Jésuite. By Elfrieda Pichler.

Interesting short account of an unexpected friendship.

Variant Readings to Three Anglo-Norman Poems. By Mildred K. Pope.

On the basis of study of the thirteenth-century revisions of the *Romance of Horn*, the *Voyage of St. Brendan* and the *Scinte Resurreccion*, Miss Pope ably defends Anglo-Norman from the charge of being a "purely artificial language."

Grammar, Grimoire, Glamour, Gomerel. By T. B. W. Reid.

Phonetic and semantic discussion of the terms.

A Note on Taine's Conception of the English Mind. By F. C. Roe.

Taine "followed Mme de Stael in identifying German and English. . . ."

Pascal and Brunschvig. By Dennis Saurat.

From now on, every serious student of Pascal will have to use Tourneur's edition of the *Pensées* (Vrin, 1942).

Leconte de Lisle and Robert Burns. By A. Lytton Sells.

Article by a sensitive and informed critic on the sources of *Chansons écossaises* and on respective merits of Burns and the Frenchman as poets.

Pontigny. By H. F. Stewart.

Account, by a participant, of the *Entretiens* organized by Paul Desjardins at that place from 1910 on, which included, in 1913, Gide, Verhaeren, Loisy, and Bédier.

Two French Attempts to Invade England During the Hundred Years' War. By G. Templeman.

Account of attempts in 1385 and 1386 by Charles VI.

Ernest Renan and Alfred Loisy. By H. G. Wood.

Suggests differences in training, temperament, and hence in their work.

A Problem of Influences: Taine and the Goncourt Brothers. By J. S. Wood.

The Goncourts, relatively aloof from contemporary theories before 1860, were strongly influenced after that date by Taine—"an influence not the less potent because they resented it."

ROGER B. OAKE

Reed College

The Pieresc Papers. By FRANCIS W. GRAVIT. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Contributions in Modern Philology, No. 14, February, 1950. Pp. 57. \$1.00.

The influence of Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, erudite and scholar of the early seventeenth century, has been little noted. Many of his unpublished writings, including correspondence with the foremost thinkers of Europe, have been preserved, but these are widely scattered. Peiresc's letters will be published in France (some were published in the nineteenth century). Meanwhile, Professor Gravit presents, in usable form, a catalogue of the Peiresc papers together with indication of the libraries in which they are housed.

A. C. KELLER

University of Washington

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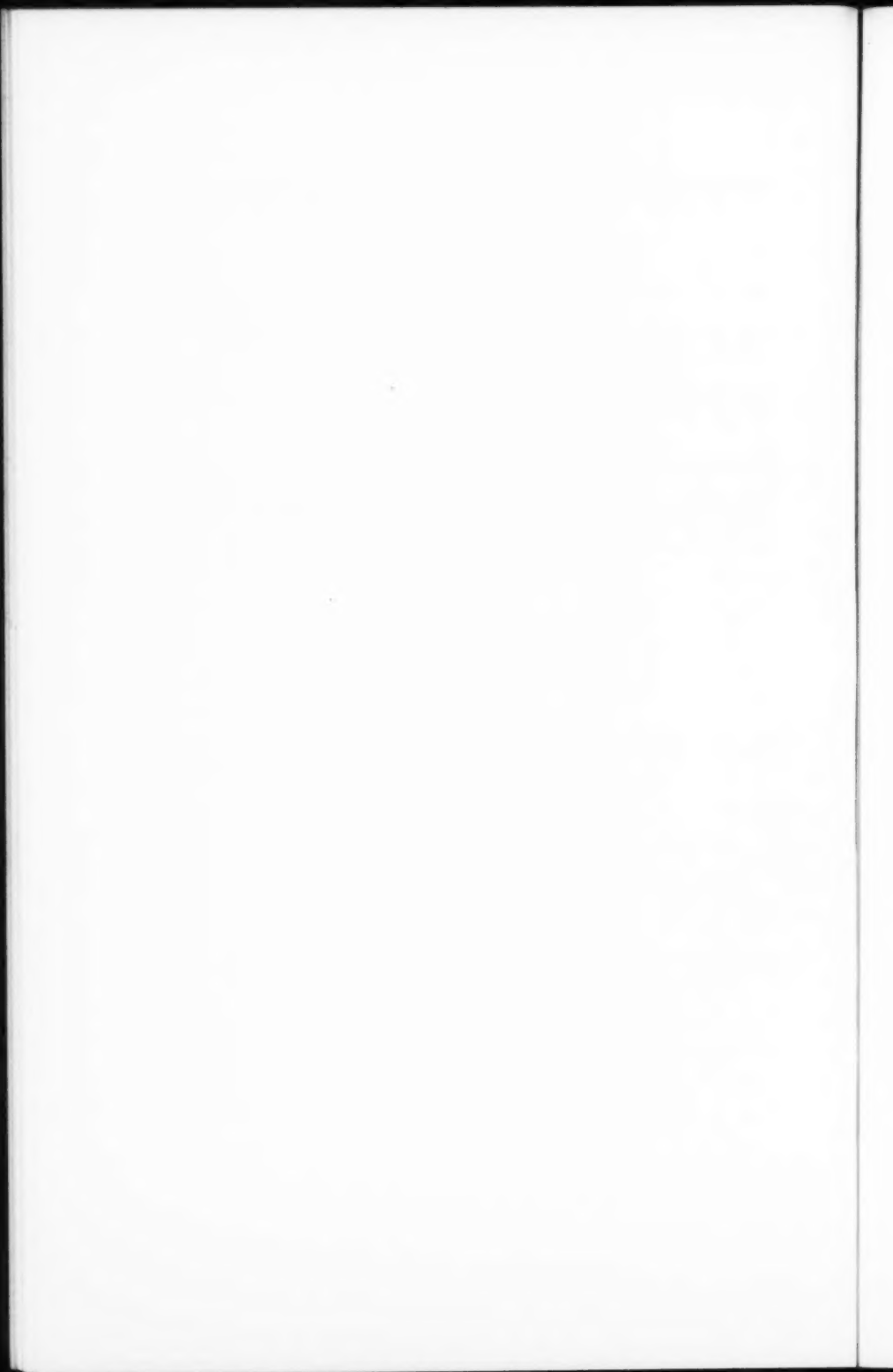
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